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A DISCOURSE,

INTENDED TO COMMEMORATE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY *Chriſtopher Columbus*;

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN MASSACHUSETTS, ON THE 23d DAY OF OCTOBER, 1792, BEING THE COMPLETION OF THE THIRD CENTURY SINCE THAT MEMORABLE EVENT.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

FOUR DISSERTATIONS,

Connected with various parts of the Diſcourſe, viz.

1. On the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients.
2. An Examination of the pretenſions of MARTIN BEHAIM to a diſcovery of America prior to that of COLUMBUS, with a Chronological detail of all the Diſcoveries made in the 15th Century.
3. On the queſtion, whether the Honey-bee is a native of America?
4. On the colour of the native Americans and the *recent* population of this Continent.

BY JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D.

"——————— *Venient annis*
Secula ſeris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, *Tiphyſque novos*
Detegat orbes; nec ſit terris
Ultima Thule."
Seneca's Medea, *written in the reign of* NERO.

PRINTED AT THE Apollo Preſs, IN BOSTON,
BY BELKNAP AND HALL,
STATE STREET, MDCCXCII.

AT a Meeting of the *Hiſtorical Society* of Maſſachuſetts, October 23d, 1792;

Voted, That Dr. Aaron Dexter, Rev. Dr. Peter Thacher, and William Tudor, Eſq. be a Committee to wait on the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, and in the name of the Society, to thank him for the Diſcourſe delivered by him this day, at their requeſt, upon the ſubject of the Diſcovery of America by Columbus.

Atteſt, G. R. MINOT,
Recording Secretary.

District of Massachusetts, to wit:

(L.S.) BE it remembered, That on the twenty-third day of October, in the seventeenth year of the Independence of the United States of America, JEREMY BELKNAP of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit, "A Discourse intended to commemorate the Discovery of America by *Christopher Columbus*; delivered at the request of the Historical Society, in Massachusetts, on the twenty-third day of October, 1792, being the completion of the third Century since that memorable event. To which are added four Dissertations connected with various parts of the Discourse, viz.

"1. On the circumnavigation of Africa by the Ancients.

"2. An examination of the pretensions of *Martin Behaim* to a discovery of America prior to that of *Columbus*, with a Chronological detail of all the Discoveries made in the 15th Century.

"3. On the question, whether the Honey-bee is a native of America?

"4. On the colour of the native Americans and the *recent* population of this Continent.

"BY JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, intituled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

N. GOODALE, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

A true copy of Record,
Attest, N. GOODALE.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

A DISCOURSE

ON THE

DICOVERY OF *AMERICA.*

WE are met together, this day, my reſpectable auditors, to commemorate an event; which, whether it be conſidered in its cauſes, in its execution, or in its conſequences, muſt be acknowledged, a ſplendid inſtance of the accompliſhment of that remarkable prediction of the prophet,

DANIEL, Chap. xii. ver. 4.

"*Many ſhall run to and fro and knowledge ſhall be increaſed.*"

Theſe words in their obvious and literal meaning point out a vaſt increaſe of ſcience, and the ſubſerviency of travelling to this important purpoſe. The time to which they refer cannot be preciſely defined; but it muſt be

be conſidered as remote from that in which they were delivered; and, it is evidently connected with the appearance of that glorious perſon "Michael the Prince," whoſe coming and kingdom, and the ſalvation of which he is the author are foretold in the ſame prophecy.

A thought of this kind would not readily have occurred to the mind of a captive Jew, had he not been under the influence of the prophetic ſpirit. Tranſported by the fortune of war into the dominions of a foreign Prince, as was Daniel, his higheſt expectation would be to return to the land of his nativity and reſume his former employments and mode of acquiring knowledge; the objects of which were, the antiquities of the world, the doctrine of the divine unity, the ſeries of prophecy, the ritual worſhip and the ſyſtem of moral duty, which were taught in the ſacred books. The hope of ſuch a return, grounded on a divine promiſe was one ſource of conſolation to the Jews in their captivity; but this prophet was favoured with ſuch divine communications reſpecting the future fortunes of his nation and the ſtate of the Church of God under the reign of the Meſſiah, as carried his

views

views into the moſt diſtant ages, and preſented ſcenes and events, of a nature very different from the genius and character of the times in which he lived. Among theſe, the increaſe of ſcience, as it is connected with travelling, is not the leaſt conſpicuous. Though briefly mentioned, yet it is placed among the moſt important facts, and is repreſented as one of the happy events attending the reign of the Prince Meſſiah, of the increaſe of whoſe government and peace there ſhall be no end.

Subſequent ages and tranſactions have proved that this prediction was founded in truth. Time has unfolded what was foreſeen in prophetic viſion; and the hand of divine Providence has ſpread before our eyes, thoſe great events, which many prophets and wiſe men deſired to ſee, but ſaw them not.

As "the teſtimony of Jeſus is the ſpirit of prophecy," ſo we may very properly conſider the travels of the Apoſtles to ſpread the knowledge of the goſpel, as one capital inſtance of the fulfilment of Daniel's prediction. By virtue of the commiſſion which they received from their Lord, and the ſpecial powers with which they were veſted, particularly the gift of tongues, thoſe choſen witneſſes carried the knowledge

knowledge of the truth to all parts of the world, then known; ſo that it might be ſaid of them, as of the luminaries of heaven, "their ſound went into all the earth and their words to the end of the world; there was no ſpeech nor language where their voice was not heard." The effects of that evangelic miſſion, though in ſome places tranſient, yet in others were abiding. Though a corrupt form of chriſtianity overſpread many of the nations who had heard the glad tidings of ſalvation; yet ſo much of the truth remained, as to be a foundation for reviving the pure doctrines and practices of the apoſtolic age, when a concurrence of circumſtances preſented a favourable opportunity.

Beſide the miraculous ſpreading of divine truth by the labours and travels of the Apoſtles, there was no remarkable event, which might be called another inſtance of the accompliſhment of the prophecy of Daniel, till ſeveral centuries had elapſed. Other cauſes then contributed to produce events, which, either in their nature or conſequences, proved beneficial to the intereſt of ſcience. Even the ſuperſtition which prompted the cruſades, in the tenth and eleventh centuries,

opened

opened a communication between the moſt diſtant countries of Europe and Aſia; and the adventurers, who returned from the holy land, brought home a taſte for the manners, habits and productions of the eaſt, which proved favourable to the ſpirit of commerce; the moſt powerful of all cauſes which have contributed to enlarge the ſphere of ſcience; becauſe it is ſtimulated by one of the moſt active principles of the human mind.

But even the operations of commerce were ſlow and languid, till the diſcovery of the magnetic needle, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Before that period, the cautious mariner followed the indentings of the ſhore, and conſumed much time in creeping along from Cape to Cape; ſeeking a port before every tempeſt, and drawing up his bark to land during the reign of winter, or of adverſe winds. But when the polarity of the magnet became known, he ventured farther into the ocean, and began to aſſume that dominion over the ſea, for which man had a grant from his Creator, when he was originally formed in the divine image. Then the deep rooted errors of antiquity were gradual-

ly corrected: The torrid and frigid zones were found to be habitable. The dream of Scipio proved to be an illuſion: Thulé was no longer the laſt of lands, nor the pillars of Hercules the boundary of the univerſe.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Portugueſe under the conduct of Prince Henry, and afterward of King John II. were puſhing their diſcoveries along the weſtern ſhore of Africa, to find a paſſage by the ſouth to India; a genius aroſe, whoſe memory has been preſerved with veneration in the pages of hiſtory, as the inſtrument of enlarging the region of ſcience and commerce, beyond any of his predeceſſors. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of the Republic of Genoa, was born in the year 1447, and at the age of fourteen entered on a ſeafaring life, as the proper ſphere, in which his vigorous mind was deſtined to perform exploits which ſhould aſtoniſh mankind.* He was educated in the ſciences of Geometry and Aſtronomy, which form the baſis of navigation;

* Life of Columbus by his ſon Ferdinand—Chap. 4. See Vol. II. of Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

igation; and he was well verſed in Coſmography, Hiſtory and Philoſophy. His active and enterpriſing genius, though it enabled him to comprehend the old ſyſtems, yet would not ſuffer him to reſt in their deciſions, however ſanctified by time or by venerable names; but, determined to examine them by actual experiment, he firſt viſited the ſeas within the polar circle, and afterward thoſe parts of Africa, which the Portugueſe had diſcovered, as far as the coaſt of Guinea; and by the time that he had attained the age of thirty-ſeven, he had from his own experience received the fulleſt conviction, that the opinion of the ancients reſpecting the torrid and frigid zones was void of any juſt foundation.

When an old ſyſtem is found erroneous in one point, it is natural to ſuſpect it of farther imperfections; and when one difficulty is overcome, others appear leſs formidable. Such was the caſe with Columbus; and his views were accelerated by an incident, which threatened to put an end to his life. During one of his voyages, the ſhip in which he ſailed took fire in an engagement with a Venetian galley, and the crew were obliged to leap in-

to

to the ſea, to avoid periſhing in the flames. In this extremity, Columbus by the help of a floating oar ſwam upwards of two leagues, to the coaſt of Portugal near Liſbon, and met with a welcome reception from many of his countrymen who were ſettled there.

At Liſbon, he married the daughter of Pereſtrello, an old ſeaman, who had been concerned in the diſcovery of Porto Santo and Madeira; from whoſe journals and charts, he received the higheſt entertainment. Purſuing his inquiries in Geography, and obſerving what ſlow progreſs the Portugueſe made in their attempts to find a way round Africa to India, "he began to reflect that as the Portugueſe travelled ſo far ſouthward, it were no leſs proper to ſail weſtward,"* and that it was reaſonable to expect to find the deſired land in that direction.

It muſt here be remembered, that India was in part known to the ancients, and that its rich and uſeful productions had for many centuries been conveyed into Europe, either by Caravans through the deſarts of Syria and Arabia; or by the way of the Red Sea, through Egypt,

* Life, Chap. V.

Egypt, into the Mediterranean.* This lucrative commerce had been ſucceſſively engroſſed by the Phenicians, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Aſſyrians, the Palmyrenes, the Arabians, the Genoeſe and the Venetians. The Portugueſe were then ſeeking it by attempting the circumnavigation of Africa; and their expectation of finding it in that direction was grounded on ancient hiſtorical traditions, that a voyage had been formerly made by the orders of Necho King of Egypt, from the Red Sea, round the ſouthern part of Africa to the ſtraights of Hercules; and that the ſame route had been traverſed by Hanno the Carthaginian, by Eudoxus the Egyptian and others. The Portugueſe had conſumed about half a century in making various attempts, and had advanced no farther, on the weſtern Coaſt of Africa, than juſt to croſs the Equator, when Columbus conceived his great deſign of finding India in the weſt.

The cauſes which led him to entertain this idea are diſtinguiſhed by his ſon, the writer of his life into theſe three,† "natural reaſon,

* Robertſon's India. Bruce's Travels.

† Life, Chap. VI.

reaſon, the authority of writers, and the teſtimony of ſailors."

By the help of "reaſon," he argued in this manner, That the earth and ſea compoſed one globe or ſphere. This was known by obſerving the ſhadow of the earth in lunar eclipſes. Hence he concluded that it might be travelled over from eaſt to weſt or from weſt to eaſt. It had been explored to the the eaſt by ſome European travellers as far as Cipango or Japan, and as far weſtward as the Azores or Weſtern Iſlands. The remaining ſpace though now known to be more than half, he ſuppoſed to be but one third part of the circumference of the globe. If this ſpace, were an open ſea, he imagined it might be eaſily ſailed over; and if there were any land extending eaſtwardly beyond the known limits of Aſia, he ſuppoſed that it muſt be nearer to Spain by the weſt than by the eaſt. For it was then a received opinion that the continent and iſlands of India extended over one third part of the circumference of the globe; that another third part was comprehended between India and the weſtern ſhore of Spain; therefore it was concluded, that the eaſtern part of India muſt be

as

as near to Spain as the weſtern part. This opinion though now known to be erroneous, yet being then admitted as true, made it appear to Columbus very eaſy and practicable to diſcover India in the weſt. He hoped alſo that between Spain and India, in that direction, there might be found ſome iſlands; by the help of which, as reſting places in his voyage, he might the better purſue his main deſign. The probability of the exiſtence of land in that Ocean, he argued, partly from the opinion of philoſophers, that there was more land than ſea on the ſurface of the globe; and partly from the neceſſity of a counterpoiſe in the weſt, for the immenſe quantity of land which was known to be in the eaſt.

Another ſource from which he drew his concluſion, was "the authority of learned men," who had affirmed the poſſibility of ſailing from the weſtern coaſt of Spain, to the eaſtern bounds of India. Some of the ancient Geographers had admitted this for truth, and one of them* had affirmed that forty days were ſufficient to perform this navigation. Theſe authorities fell in with the theory

* Pliny.

theory which Columbus had formed; and having as early as 1474, communicated his ideas in writing to Paul, a learned Phyſician of Florence, he received from him letters of that date, confirming his opinion and encouraging his deſign; accompanied with a chart, in which Paul had laid down the city of Quiſay (ſuppoſed to be the capital of China) but little more than two thouſand leagues weſtward from Liſbon, which in fact is but half the diſtance. Thus by arguing from true principles, and by indulging conjectures partly well founded and partly erroneous, Columbus was led to the execution of a plan, bold in its conception, and to his view eaſily practicable; for great minds overlook intermediate obſtacles, which men of ſmaller views magnify into inſuperable difficulties.

The third ground on which he formed his idea was "the teſtimony of mariners;" a claſs of men who at that time, and in that imperfect ſtate of ſcience, were too prone to mix fable with fact; and were often miſled by appearances, which they could not ſolve. In the ſea, between Madeira and the Weſtern Iſlands, pieces of carved wood and large joints of cane had been diſcovered, which were ſuppoſed

poſed to be brought by weſterly winds. Branches of pine trees, a canoe, and two human bodies of a complexion different from the Europeans and Africans had been found, on the ſhores of theſe iſlands. Some navigators had affirmed, that they had ſeen iſlands not more than an hundred leagues weſtward from the Azores. There was a tradition, that when Spain was conquered by the Moors in the eighth century, ſeven Biſhops who were exiled from their country, had built ſeven cities and churches, on an iſland called Antilla; which was ſuppoſed to be not more than two hundred leagues weſt of the Canaries; and it was ſaid that a Portugueſe ſhip had once diſcovered this iſland, but could never find it again. Theſe ſtories, partly true and partly fabulous, had their effect on the mind of Columbus. He believed that iſlands were to be found, weſtward of the Azores and Canaries, though according to his theory, they were at a greater diſtance than any of his contemporaries had imagined. His candour led him to adopt an opinion from Pliny reſpecting floating iſlands, by the help of which he accounted for the appearances related to

him, by his marine brethren. It is not improbable that the large iſlands of floating ice, driven from the Polar Seas to the ſouthward; or the Fog Banks, which form many ſingular appearances reſembling land and trees, might have been the true foundation of this opinion and of theſe reports.*

It

* The following account of a curious deception, extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, may elucidate the above obſervations.

Gentleman's Magazine, 1752, *page* 88.—"March 4, 1748—9, at two in the afternoon, made land, which bore N. E. ſeven leagues diſtance by eſtimation: at five tacked, being about three leagues from ſaid iſland, wind E. S. E. latitude by obſervation 49° 40′; longitude 24° 30′, from the lizard. This iſland ſtretches N. W. and S. E. about 5 leagues long, and 9 miles wide. On the ſouth ſide fine valleys and a great number of birds.

March 5, ſaid iſland bore N. three leagues. N. W. a reef of rocks three miles. This day a ſhip's maſt came along ſide. On the ſouth point of ſaid iſland is a ſmall marſhy iſland."

"A copy of my journal on board the ſnow St. Paul of London, bound from South Carolina to London.

"William Otton, Commander."

P. S. Captain Otton thought he ſaw a tent on the iſland, and would have gone aſhore, but had unfortunately ſtove his boat ſome time before.

Gent. Mag. 1751, *p.* 235.—"Commodore Rodney is commiſſioned to go in queſt of an iſland, which, according to the report of a maſter of a ſhip, and ſome others,

It is not pretended that Columbus was the only perſon of his age who had acquired theſe ideas of the form, dimenſions and balancing of the globe; but he was one of the few who had begun to think for themſelves, and he had a genius of that kind, which makes uſe of ſpeculation

others, on examination before the Lords of the Admiralty, lies about 50° N. and about 300 leagues weſt of England. Capt. Murdock Mackenzie, an excellent mathematician, and author of the ſea charts of the Orkney and Lewis iſlands, attends him in the Culloden ſloop, to bring back an account of what diſcoveries he may make. As this iſland lies out of the track of the trade to America, it is ſuppoſed to have been miſſed by navigators to our colonies, *though marked in ſome Dutch maps*. If the Commodore diſcovers it, he is to take poſſeſſion of it by the name of Rodney's iſland."

Gent. Mag. 1752, *p.* 189.—" Friday, April 10, 1752, Commodore Rodney arrived at Woolwich: he had been cruiſing ten days in queſt of an iſland, and the men at the top-maſt-head were more than once deceived with what the ſailors call fog-banks. About the 6th or 7th day the crew obſerved branches of trees with their leaves on, and flights of gulls, and pieces of ſhipwreck, which are generally regarded as certain ſigns of an adjacent ſhore, but could not diſcover any."

N. B. The iſland *marked in the Dutch maps*, lies in latitude 57°, and longitude 13° W. It has been ſeen by American ſhips in their paſſage from Ruſſia, and is *now* marked in the Engliſh charts; it could not have been miſtaken for this imaginary iſland, being but a ſingle rock.

ulation and reaſoning only as excitements to action. He was not a cloſet projector, but an enterpriſing adventurer; and having eſtabliſhed his theory on principles, he was determined to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, to demonſtrate its truth by experiment. But deeming the enterpriſe too great to be undertaken by any but a ſovereign ſtate, he firſt applied (as it is ſaid) to the Republic of Genoa, by whom his project was treated as viſionary.* He then propoſed his plan to John II. King of Portugal, who, though a Prince of good underſtanding and of an enterpriſing diſpoſition, yet was ſo deeply engaged in proſecuting diſcoveries on the African coaſt, with a view to find a way to India round that continent; and had been at ſo vaſt an expenſe without any conſiderable ſucceſs, that he had no inclination to accept the terms which Columbus propoſed. Influenced however by the advice of Calzadilla, a favourite courtier, he privately

* This is ſaid on the authority of Herrera the Spaniſh hiſtorian; Ferdinando Columbus, in the life of his father, ſays nothing of it; but repreſents his application to the King of Portugal as the firſt, and gives this reaſon for it, "becauſe he lived under him."

ly gave orders to a ſhip, bound to the iſlands of Cape de Verd, to attempt a diſcovery in the weſt, but through ignorance and want of enterpriſe, the navigators, after wandering for ſome time in the ocean and making no diſcovery, reached their deſtined port and turned the project of Columbus into ridicule.

Diſguſted with this baſe artifice he quitted Portugal, and went to Ferdinand, King of Spain, having previouſly ſent his brother to England to ſolicit the patronage of Henry VII. But being taken by pirates, and detained ſeveral years in captivity, Bartholomew had it not in his power to reveal his project to Henry, till Chriſtopher Columbus had ſucceeded in Spain. Before this could be accompliſhed, he had various obſtacles to ſurmount; and it was not till after ſeven years of painful ſolicitation that he obtained his requeſt.

The objections made to the propoſal of Columbus, by the moſt learned men in Spain, to whom the conſideration of it was referred, will give us ſome idea of the ſtate of geographical ſcience at that time. One objection was, How ſhould he know more than all the

wiſe

wiſe men and ſkilful ſailors who had exiſted ſince the creation? Another was the authority of Seneca who had doubted whether it were poſſible to navigate the ocean at any great diſtance from the ſhore; but admitting that it were navigable, they imagined, that three years would be required to perform the voyage, which Columbus propoſed. A third was, that if a ſhip ſhould ſail weſtward on a round globe, ſhe would neceſſarily go down, on the oppoſite ſide, and then it would be impoſſible to return, becauſe it would be like climbing up a hill, which no ſhip could do with the ſtrongeſt wind. A fourth objection was grounded on a book of St. Auguſtine, in which he had expreſſed his doubt of the exiſtence of antipodes and the poſſibility of going from one hemiſphere to the other. As the writings of this Holy Father had received the ſanction of the Church, to contradict him was deemed hereſy.*

For ſuch reaſons, and by ſuch reaſoners the propoſal of Columbus was at firſt rejected; but by the influence of father Perez, a Spaniſh Prieſt, and Lewis Santangel, an officer of the

* Life of Columbus, Chap. XII.

the King's houſhold, Queen Iſabella was perſuaded to liſten to his ſolicitation, and after he had been twice repulſed, to recal him to Court; when ſhe offered to pawn her jewels to defray the expenſe of the equipment, amounting to no more than 2500 crowns; which ſum was advanced by Santangel, and the Queen's jewels were ſaved. Thus, to the generous deciſion of a female mind, we owe the diſcovery of America.

The neceſſary preparations being made, and a year's proviſion laid in, on the 3d of Auguſt, 1492, Columbus ſailed from Palos, a port of Spain, on the Mediterranean, with three veſſels, one of which was called a Carrack, and the other two, Caravels; having on board, the whole, ninety men. Having paſſed through the ſtraights of Gibraltar, he arrived at the Canaries, on the 12th of the ſame month; where he was detained in refitting one of the Caravels, and taking in wood and water, till the 6th of September, when he ſailed weſtward on his voyage of diſcovery.

This voyage, which now is conſidered as an eaſy and pleaſant run, between the latitudes of 20 and 30 degrees, with a trade wind, was then the boldeſt attempt which had ever been

been made, and filled the minds of the beſt ſeamen with apprehenſion. They were going directly from home, and from all hope of relief, if any accident ſhould befal them. No friendly port nor human being was known to be in that direction. Every bird which flew in the air, every fiſh which appeared in the ſea, and every weed which floated on its ſurface, was regarded with the moſt minute attention,* as if the fate of the voyage depended on it. A phenomenon which had never before been obſerved ſtruck them with terror. The magnetic needle appeared to vary from the pole: They began to apprehend that their compaſs would prove an unfaithful guide; and the trade wind, which waſted them along with its friendly wings, they feared would obſtruct their return.

To be twenty days at ſea, without ſight of land was what the boldeſt mariner had never before attempted. At the expiration of that time the impatient ſailors began to talk of throwing their commander into the ocean and returning home. Their murmurs reached

* See the journal of the voyage in the Life of Columbus, Chap. XVIII—XXI.

ed his ears; but his active mind was never at a loss for expedients, even in the greatest extremity. By soothing, flattery and artifice, by inventing reasons for every uncommon appearance, by promising rewards to the obedient, and a gratuity to him who should first discover land, in addition to what the King had ordered, and by deceiving them in the ship's reckoning, he kept them on their course for sixteen days longer. In the night of the 11th of October, he himself saw a light, which seemed to be on shore, and in the morning of the 12th, they had the joyful sight of land, which proved to be the island of Guanahana, one of the cluster called Bahamas, in the 25th degree of north latitude.

Thus in the space of thirty-six days, and in the 45th year of his age, Columbus completed a voyage which he had spent twenty years in projecting and executing; a voyage which opened to the Europeans a new world; which gave a new turn to their thoughts, to their spirit of enterprise and of commerce; which enlarged the empire of Spain, and stamped with immortality the name of Columbus.

After spending several months in sailing from one island to another in that vast archi-

pelago, which, from the miſtakes of the age, received the name of the Weſt-Indies, Columbus returned to Spain with the two ſmaller veſſels, the larger having been wrecked on the iſland of Hiſpaniola. During his paſſage he met with a violent tempeſt which threatened him with deſtruction. In this extremity he gave an admirable proof of his calmneſs and foreſight. He wrote on parchment an account of his diſcoveries, wrapped it in a piece of oiled cloth, and incloſed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight caſk and threw into the ſea. Another parchment, ſecured in the ſame manner he placed on the ſtern, that if the ſhip ſhould ſink, the caſk might float, and poſſibly one or the other might be driven on ſhore, or taken up at ſea by ſome future navigator. But this precaution proved fruitleſs. He arrived ſafe in Spain in March, 1493, and was received with the honours due to his merit.

After this, he made three other voyages to America, in one of which he diſcovered the continent; and in a ſucceeding voyage he endeavoured to find a paſſage through it to India, but in vain; that deſirable country he never ſaw.

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To particularize all the ſucceeding events in the life of that great man, is not the deſign of this diſcourſe; let it ſuffice to obſerve, that his latter days were embittered by the envy of his rivals, the death of his patroneſs and the jealouſy of his ſovereign. Though he merited the honour of giving his own name to the continent which he diſcovered, yet it was called after an inferior, but more fortunate adventurer.* Nor have endeavours been wanting both formerly and lately to rob him of the merit of originating this capital diſcovery. But in the pages of impartial hiſtory, he will always be celebrated as a man of genius and ſcience; as a prudent, ſkilful, intrepid navigator; as having firſt reaſoned out the

* This fortunate adventurer was *Amerigo Veſpucci* or *Americus Veſputius*, a Florentine merchant and mathematician, who ſailed as a private adventurer with *Ojeda*, in 1499, and diſcovered the continent in the latitude of 5° N. which Columbus, in the preceding year had diſcovered in the latitude of 9° N. In 1501, Amerigo made another voyage to the Weſt-Indies; and after the death of Columbus, was employed by Ferdinand, King of Spain, to delineate the new diſcoveries on charts. From theſe charts, and a book which he publiſhed, deſcribing the new world, this continent unjuſtly obtained the name of AMERICA.

the probability, and then demonſtrated the certainty of the exiſtence of this continent.

It is remarkable, that a fate ſimilar to that of Columbus, hath befallen others of the firſt adventurers to America. The great RALEIGH was ſacrificed to the jealouſy of Spain by the puſillanimity of his ſovereign. SMITH, GORGES, MASON and POPHAM, conſumed their time and fortunes in proſecuting diſcoveries, and laying a foundation for the proſperity of their ſucceſſors. Yet the names of theſe men have not been given to any conſiderable part of this territory, the object of their painful and expenſive undertakings. Hiſtory however will preſerve the memory of their exertions, though forgotten by thoſe STATES which are indebted to them for their exiſtence.

Having thus traced the ſteps by which the *diſcovery of America* was made to the Europeans; let us take a view of its connexion with the *advancement of ſcience*.

The firſt branch of ſcience which preſents itſelf in this inquiry is *Geography*; the knowledge of which has been moſt eſſentially improved by means of this diſcovery. It is to

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us very aſtoniſhing, that the ancient philoſophers perſiſted ſo tenaciouſly in their opinion reſpecting the five zones; and eſpecially that they deemed the equatorial regions uninhabitable, when they had the means of better information. For, voyages were frequently made from the red ſea to the coaſt of India, within ten or twelve degrees of the equator. The Carthaginians planted colonies on the weſtern ſide of Africa, within five degrees of it; and if the country of Ophir was the ſame with Sofala, on the eaſtern ſhore of Africa, the navy of Solomon muſt have croſſed the equator both in going and returning. Notwithſtanding this advantage which they certainly had, it was a received opinion among the Greeks and Romans, which no one dared to controvert; that the torrid zone was ſcorched by the vertical ſun, and that no human being could reſide in it, or paſs through it, from the northern to the ſouthern hemiſphere. This error, it is probable, firſt aroſe from the knowledge which they had of the vaſt, ſandy deſarts of Africa, which had ſometimes proved deſtructive to whole armies who had attempted to paſs them. The only way, in

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which we can account for their not correcting this miſtake, is, that the navigation of the ſouthern ſeas was performed chiefly by the Phenicians and Carthaginians, who were the enemies and rivals of the Greeks and Romans, and kept their knowledge to themſelves. We find among them no philoſophers, and very few authors. They were practical ſeamen and merchants, intent on gain, and monopolizers of commerce.

The Greeks and Romans had very little more of the ſpirit of enterpriſe than was connected with their hoſtile expeditions; but they formed theories of geography, either by the obſervations and reports of their military commanders, or by ſecond hand information, or by conjecture and hypotheſis. Theſe nations produced many authors, and many of their books are preſerved to our times, in which we ſee the imperfection of their knowledge of the globe, their prejudice in favour of their erroneous ſyſtem, and their incredulity when evidence was offered againſt their preconceived hypotheſis.

On the authority of theſe philoſophers, the Roman world for many ages founded all their

geographical

geographical knowledge. That imperfect ſyſtem became at length a part of the creed of the Roman church, and was defended by the court of inquiſition. If St. Auguſtine doubted the diurnal motion of the earth, or the exiſtence of antipodes, or the habitableneſs of the torrid zone; St. Dominic was ready with his infernal logic, to ſilence every one who preſumed to diſſent from the infallible chair. Thus ignorance and error were canonized, and the feeble dawn of ſcience was ſcarcely able to penetrate the dark miſt of the middle ages. Even after the diſcoveries made by the Portugueſe in the eaſt, and by the Spaniards in the weſt, the Roman Pontiff gravely aſſumed a right to divide the world between them by a line drawn from pole to pole, at the diſtance of an hundred leagues from the Azores or weſtern iſlands; without any proviſion, in caſe they ſhould meet, and their claims ſhould interfere on the oppoſite ſide of the globe.*

By the progreſs of diſcovery, thoſe ancient ſyſtems have gradually vaniſhed, and mankind

* See the Bull at large in Hazard's Collection, vol. I. page 5.

kind have founded their knowledge of the form and contents of the terraqueous globe, on fact and experience. One traveller has ſucceeded another, and one nation has emulated another, in the ſurvey of the earth, till within the laſt twenty years the boundaries of navigation have been preciſely aſcertained, and the circuit of the globe is now become a familiar voyage among our marine brethren. The reign of George III, though ſtained with the groſſeſt political errors, and diſgraced by the loſs of a large portion of this continent from his dominion; yet deſerves reſpect, for giving birth to many expenſive adventures to the moſt diſtant regions, eſpecially in the vaſt pacific ocean; by which the ſcience of geography has been much improved. Indeed we are now ſo far advanced in our acquaintance with the globe, that every ſchool-boy knows more of it than all the philoſophers of antiquity; and as we proceed in our inquiries into this noble ſcience, we learn more and more of the wonderful works of him who is perfect in wiſdom and knowledge.

Connected with geography, we may view the ſcience of *navigation* as alſo greatly improved

proved ſince this diſcovery. By navigation I do not mean barely the mathematical knowledge neceſſary to keep the reckoning of a ſhip, and the celeſtial obſervations to determine its poſition; though even theſe are reduced to more accuracy, and performed by better inſtruments than formerly; but I would comprehend the whole art of travelling by ſea, the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips, and the methods uſed to preſerve the lives and health of ſeamen in all climates. When Columbus ſailed on his firſt voyage, two of the veſſels employed in that ſervice were without decks,* and in the ſhort run from Spain to the Canaries one of them loſt her rudder. This muſt give us an idea of the very imperfect ſtate of naval architecture at that period; for theſe were doubtleſs the beſt ſhips which could be procured in the dominion of Queen Iſabella, and they were three months in preparing for the voyage. After that period, commerce, the ſoul of navigation, dictated the building and equipment of larger, ſtronger

* "*Ex regio fiſco deſtinata ſunt tria navigia; unum onerarium caveatum, alia duo levia mercatoria ſine caveis, quæ ab Hiſpanis Caravelæ vocantur.*"
Peter Matyr, de orbe novo.

er and more commodious veſſels, for the purpoſe of tranſporting merchandiſe, and exploring new regions. But that fatal diſtemper the ſcurvy, was an obſtacle which for many years baffled the ingenuity of man, and the power of medicine. It is but half a century ſince the ſquadron of ANSON, in circumnavigating the globe, were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, by its uncontroled ravages. But within the laſt twenty years, methods have been adopted to prevent it; and the name of COOKE will always be renowned in naval hiſtory, for having ſucceſsfully perfected the means of preſerving the lives of ſeamen in the longeſt voyages; as well as for having eſtabliſhed the limits of navigation, toward the ſouthern and the northern poles.

It is now known by experience, that the human conſtitution is capable, by proper management, of enduring all the viciſſitudes of heat and cold, of moiſture and dryneſs, to which any acceſſible part of the earth is ſubject; and that its health may be preſerved in all climates and ſituations. This diſcovery is in the higheſt degree favourable to the purpoſes of commerce, which in the preſent age,

affords

affords its friendly aſſiſtance to the progreſs of knowledge and humanity.

We may alſo reckon the ſcience of *natural hiſtory* as greatly improved by the diſcovery of this continent. It has given mankind more juſt and ſublime ideas of the works of GOD, ſome of which appear to be conſtructed on a larger ſcale, and in a more magnificent ſtyle, than in the old continent. The immenſe Andes of South America are elevated above the Alps, the Taurus or the Atlas. The Amazon, Oronooque and La Plata diſcharge greater quantities of water than the Danube, the Ganges or the Nile. The vaſt chain of lakes which flow into the St. Lawrence, forms a ſingular phenomenon, which no part of the old continent can parallel. Beſides, America can boaſt of the moſt extenſive and fertile plains, whilſt it is entirely free from thoſe ſcorching ſands and parched deſarts, which deform the countries of Africa and Arabia.

In America are found ſeveral ſpecies of animals unknown in other parts of the world, beſide the remains of ſome ſuppoſed to be now extinct, which for bulk and ſtrength muſt at leaſt have equalled the elephant of Aſia and Africa. The vegetable productions of this

this continent have alſo enriched the medical art, with many valuable acquiſitions before unknown. The precious metals, gold and ſilver as well as diamonds and pearls are vaſtly more common, and of leſs value than before; and the foſſil treaſures which have been diſcovered, afford not only many uſeful articles in commerce and the arts, but demonſtrate the certainty of an univerſal diſruption of the earth, at ſome remote period, and thus confirm the truth of ſacred hiſtory.

The diſcovery of America has alſo opened an important page in the *hiſtory of man*. We find our brethren of the human race, ſcattered over all parts of this continent, and the adjacent iſlands. We ſee mankind in their ſeveral varieties of colour, form and habit, and we learn to conſider ourſelves as one great family, ſent into the world to make various experiments for happineſs.

One of the grandeſt of theſe experiments has been made in our own part of this continent. Freedom, that noble gift of heaven, has here fixed her ſtandard, and invited the diſtreſſed of all countries to take refuge under it. Our virtuous anceſtors fled from the impoſitions and perſecutions to which they were ſubject-

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ed in England, and found in this wilderneſs an aſylum from that tyranny. Their example was followed by others, and in North America, the oppreſſed of Europe have always found ſafety and relief. But we were deſigned by Providence for a nobler experiment ſtill: Not only to open a door of ſafety to our European brethren here; but to ſhow them that they are entitled to the ſame rights in their native countries; and we have ſet them an example of a hazardous, but ſucceſsful vindication of thoſe rights, which are the gift of God to man.

It is both amuſing and inſtructive to review our former notions of liberty, both civil and religious; and to ſee what imperfect ideas we had on theſe ſubjects, derived by tradition from our European anceſtors. Like them we boaſted of *Engliſh* liberty; as if Engliſhmen had ſome excluſive rights, beyond any other people, on the face of the earth. And what was Engliſh liberty? Its origin muſt be ſought in ancient charters, and particularly in *magna charta*, granted by, or rather forced from, one of the worſt princes that ever diſgraced a throne. The liberties of Engliſhmen, after the Norman Conqueſt,

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were the grants of their Kings;* and the prerogative was the claim of thoſe Kings to power and dominion ſuppoſed to be founded on a divine right.

In the early ſtages of our controverſy, we had formed an idea of liberty, as an inheritance, deſcended to us from our anceſtors, who were Engliſhmen;† ſome of whom, when they quitted England, had received of the then reigning prince, charters under the great ſeal; by which it was ſuppoſed that their privileges were confirmed to them and their poſterity; and the colonies which had theſe charters plumed themſelves on poſſeſſing more and greater privileges, than thoſe ſtyled

* "I have always conſidered the boaſted birthright of an Engliſhman, as an arrogant pretenſion built on a beggarly foundation. It is arrogant, becauſe it intimates a kind of excluſion to the reſt of mankind from the ſame privileges; and it is beggarly, becauſe it reſts our legitimate freedom on the alms of our princes." *Catharine Macaulay Graham.*

† "Few people have extended their inquiries after the foundation of their rights beyond a charter from the crown. Others think when they have got back to old *magna charta*, that they are at the beginning of all things. They imagine themſelves on the borders of Chaos, and ſee creation riſing out of the unformed maſs. Hence, ſay they, ſpring all the rights of men and of citizens."

James Otis. 1764.

ſtyled royal provinces, which were governed by temporary commiſſions from the crown, revocable at the royal pleaſure.

In like manner, our title to religious freedom was ſuppoſed to be derived, partly from the ſame charters and commiſſions; in which, liberty of conſcience was *granted* by the King, to ſuch of his ſubjects as ſhould ſettle in the plantations; partly from acts of toleration, made in England, and conſtrued to extend to the colonies; and, partly from our own laws made to favour the religious opinions and practices of thoſe who diſſented from the majority. Religious liberty was not placed on its right foundation, nor derived from its true ſource. The world was not obliged to the ſtateſman or the divine, for the firſt acknowledgment of this darling right; but to the ſpirit of commerce and to the intereſted views of the merchant. Religious toleration was introduced into the European countries for the benefit of trade. When the merchants of Holland ſtruck out the idea, it was regarded by their neighbours, with the ſame horror as a peſtilence. It was imported into England, with William, Prince of Orange, under whoſe patronage

patronage it was formed into a law; but it has never been there ſo extenſively admitted as to put all ſects and parties on an equal footing. A preference is ſtill given to one denomination above all others; and if an Engliſhman would fully enjoy the privileges of an Engliſhman, he muſt conform to the rites and ceremonies of what is called the eſtabliſhed church; all other perſons are ſubject to burdens and incapacities, from which they cannot be free, whilſt they continue within that realm; and the oppoſers of theſe unequal burdens are expoſed to the rage of party zeal, which in ſome late inſtances has been carried to the moſt criminal exceſs.

Too much of the ſame ſpirit, it muſt be confeſſed, has reigned here. Our anceſtors in New England eſtabliſhed a teſt before any was enacted by the Engliſh parliament; and though it has, long ſince, been abrogated, yet the idea of an excluſive right to the honours and emoluments of government, by the prevailing religious denomination, continued till very lately. Some of us can remember the time, when it was thought a ſufficient objection to a man's being choſen to a ſeat in the legiſlature, that he belonged to the

Epiſcopal

Epiſcopal Church. And, even at this enlightened period, I bluſh to own, that, by the Conſtitution of this Commonwealth, the Jew, the Mahometan, the Gentoo, and the Diſciple of Confucius, are excluded from our public councils, be they ever ſo good citizens; whilſt men, who for convenience, call themſelves Chriſtians, though deeply tinged with infidelity, and deſtitute of moral principles, *may* freely be admitted.

But though imperfection is more or leſs interwoven with all human conſtitutions; yet a ſpirit of improvement is evidently pervading this country. Several of the firſt forms of government which were made for theſe States, have been reviewed and amended. Religious teſts have been gradually aboliſhed; and our national form of government is entirely free from them. It leaves religion where all civil government ought to leave it; to the conſciences of individuals, under the control of the ſupreme Lord.

As learning is acknowledged to be eſſentially neceſſary to the preſervation of a republican government, ſo wherever the true ſpirit of liberty reigns it will cheriſh the intereſt

of ſcience. This principle was well underſtood by the fathers of New England, and we their poſterity have reaped the benefit of their wiſe and faithful care to provide the means of inſtruction for us. The ſame ſpirit ſeems more and more to prevail throughout this country, and forms one of the moſt happy omens of the preſervation of liberty to future generations.

From our example of a government founded on the principle of repreſentation, excluding all family pretenſions and titles of nobility, other nations are beginning to look into their natural and original rights as *men*; and to aſſert and maintain them againſt the claims of deſpotiſm. As far as the preſent ſtruggle in Europe againſt civil and ſpiritual uſurpation, is conducted on virtuous principles, we cordially wiſh it ſucceſs. But have we not reaſon to fear that the cauſe of liberty may be injured by the intemperate zeal of its friends, as much as by the ſyſtematic oppoſition of its enemies? If wiſdom, harmony and fortitude were combined with patriotiſm on the ſide of liberty, we might hope that the time was approaching, when an hereditary right to govern a nation would appear as contemptible

temptible as the royal touch for the King's evil; and when the loftieſt prelates of Europe would find themſelves reduced to the ſame level with the curate of a pariſh. But what ſcenes of anarchy and diſtreſs may take place before theſe deſirable events, we muſt wait for time to unfold.

It is an old obſervation of Solomon, "He that increaſeth knowledge increaſeth ſorrow." This may juſtly be applied to the enlargement of ſcience which is made by the diſcovery of America. The field is extended, but difficulties have ariſen which are not yet ſolved. Though we have learned more of the works of creation and providence than was known to preceding ages, yet we find that there is ſtill more behind the curtain.

Among theſe difficulties we may reckon the queſtion, *whence was America peopled?* For three centuries this has been a ſubject of debate among the learned; and it is amuſing, to ſee how national prejudice has become involved with philoſophical diſquiſition, in the attempts which have been made to ſolve the queſtion. The claims of Hanno the Carthaginian, of Madoc the Welchman, of the

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ſeven Biſhops of Spain, and the ten tribes of Iſrael, have had their ſeveral advocates; and after all, the claim of the ſix nations is as well founded as any, that their anceſtors ſprung like trees out of the ſoil. The true philoſopher will treat them all with indifference, and will ſuſpend his judgment till he has better information than any which has yet appeared. Since the late diſcovery of many cluſters of iſlands in the Pacific Ocean, and the near approach of the Aſian to the American continent, the difficulty with reſpect to the population of America, by the human ſpecies is leſſened; and had this continent been diſcovered by a ſcientific people on its weſtern, before it was on its eaſtern ſide, perhaps the queſtion would not have been ſo long nor ſo warmly agitated. But ſtill the tranſportation of other animals from the old to the new continent, and the exiſtence of ſome here which are not known there, is a ſubject, which remains involved in obſcurity.

Before we have ſolved one difficulty another riſes to view. It is not many years ſince the large bones found in the neighbourhood of the Ohio excited much attention. We had

had ſcarcely conjectured to what animal they belonged when a new object was brought forward. *Mounds* and *fortifications* of a regular conſtruction were diſcovered in the thickeſt ſhades of the American foreſt, overgrown with trees of immenſe age, which are ſuppoſed to be not the firſt growth upon the ſpot ſince the dereliction of its ancient poſſeſſors.

The moſt obvious mode of ſolving the difficulty which aroſe in the curious mind on this occaſion was by making inquiry of the natives. But the ſtructures are too ancient for their tradition, their oldeſt and wiſeſt men know nothing of their original. Indeed the form and materials of theſe works ſeem to indicate the exiſtence of a race of men in a ſtage of improvement ſuperior to thoſe natives of whom we or our fathers have had any knowledge; who had different ideas of convenience and utility; who were more patient of labour, and better acquainted with the art of defence.

That theſe works were not conſtructed by any Europeans who have penetrated the American wilderneſs ſince the diſcovery of the continent, appears from various conſidera-

tions;

tions;* but moſt deciſively from the trees found growing on them; which by indubitable marks are known to be upwards of three hundred years old. At what remote period theſe works were erected and by whom; what became of their builders; whether they were driven away or deſtroyed by a more fierce and ſavage people, the Goths and Vandals of America; or whether they voluntarily migrated to a diſtant region; and where that region is, are queſtions which at preſent can not be ſatisfactorily anſwered.

Our aſtoniſhment is further excited, by conſidering that the diſcovery of America has opened a large mart for the *commerce in ſlaves* from the oppoſite continent of Africa. So much has been written and ſpoken on the iniquity attending this deteſtable ſpecies of traffic, that I need not attempt again to excite the feelings of indignation and horror, which I doubt not have pervaded the breaſt of every perſon now preſent, when contemplating this flagrant inſult on the laws of juſtice and humanity. I ſhall only obſerve, that the firſt introduction

* See the Columbian Magizine, for 1788. P. 477, 645.

duction of the negro ſlavery into America, was occaſioned by the previous deſtruction of the native inhabitants of the Weſt-India iſlands, by the cruelty of their Spaniſh conquerors, in exacting of them more labour than they were able to perform. The moſt remarkable and unaccountable circumſtance attending the beginning of this traffic, is, that it was recommended by a Spaniſh Biſhop, one of the moſt benevolent friends of the Indians, whom he could not bear to ſee ſo wantonly deſtroyed by his countrymen. When they preſſed him with this difficulty, "How ſhall our plantations be cultivated if we may not uſe the natives as our ſlaves?" He adviſed them to ſend to Africa, for a more robuſt and patient race of men, who could better bear the fatigue of labour in a warm climate. Thus from a principle of lenity toward the ſavages of America, he introduced the commerce of ſlaves from Africa; which has proved deſtructive to human life and happineſs, in the ſame proportion that it has encouraged avarice, luxury, pride and cruelty.

But do I not ſee the dawn of that auſpicious day which ſhall put a ſtop to this infamous

famous traffic, and ſhall teach mankind that Africans have a native right to liberty and property as well as Europeans and Americans? May theſe rights ever be reſpected, and never more be infringed, eſpecially by thoſe who have ſucceſsfully contended for the eſtabliſhment of their own.

Let us now turn our attention to another ſubject of debate, ariſing from the knowledge of this continent. If the goſpel was deſigned for an univerſal benefit to mankind, why was it not brought by the Apoſtles to America, as well as propagated in the ſeveral regions of the old continent? To ſolve this difficulty, it has been alleged that America *was* known to the ancients; and that it was enlightened by the perſonal miniſtry of the Apoſtles.* With equal propriety it might be ſolved, by denying that America was at that time inhabited by any human being, and it might not be impoſſible to maintain this negative poſition, againſt any poſitive proof which can be adduced to the contrary. But both are attended with difficulties which require more light

* See an elaborate Eſſay on this ſubject by the late Dr. Samuel Mather.

light to unravel than has yet appeared. If America was peopled at that period, perhaps the ſtate of human ſociety was ſuch, that the wiſe and benevolent Author of chriſtianity ſaw no proſpect of ſucceſs, to the propagation of his goſpel here, without the intervention of more and greater miracles, than were conſiſtent with divine wiſdom or the nature of man to permit.

Nearly akin to this, is another difficulty. The native inhabitants of Peru, for ſome centuries before the Spaniſh invaſion, are repreſented as worſhipers of the ſun; whoſe univerſally benignant influence to the world they thought themſelves bound to imitate.* Accordingly their national character was mild, gentle and humane. They made no offenſive wars; and when they repelled the invaſions of their ſavage neighbours, and conquered them, it was done with a view to reduce them from their native ferocity, under the government of rational and ſocial principles; and to incorporate them with themſelves, that they might enjoy the benefits of their own pacific ſyſtem. Their code of laws, deliver-

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* See Garcilaſſo de la Vega's Royal Commentations of Peru.

ed by the founder of their empire, was a work of reaſon and benevolence, and bore a great reſemblance to the divine precepts given by Moſes and confirmed by Jeſus Chriſt. In ſhort, they ſeem to have made the neareſt approach to the ſyſtem of chriſtianity, I mean the moral part of it, of any people who had never been formally inſtructed in its principles.

It would ſeem then to human reaſon, that they were fit objects for an apoſtolic miſſion; and, that if the pure, ſimple, original doctrine of the goſpel had been preached to them they would readily have embraced it.

But when we find that theſe mild and peaceful people were invaded by avaricious Spaniards, under a pretence of converting them to the catholic faith; when inſtead of the meek and humble language of a primitive evangeliſt, we ſee a bigoted Friar gravely advancing at the head of a Spaniſh army, and, in a language unknown to the Peruvians, declaring that their country was given to his nation, by the Pope of Rome, God's only vicar on earth, and comm anding them to receive their new maſters on pain of death; when we conſider this parade of arrogant hy-

pocriſy as the ſignal for ſlaughter, and ſee the innocent victims falling by the ſword of theſe miniſters of deſtruction; when we ſee the whole nation vanquiſhed, diſheartened, and either murdered or reduced to ſlavery, by their ſavage conquerors; when inſtead of the worſhip which they addreſſed to the luminary of heaven, and which needed but one ſtep more to conduct them to the knowledge of its inviſible Creator, we ſee the pomp of Popiſh idolatry, with the infernal horrors of the Inquiſition introduced into their country; our aſtoniſhment is excited to the higheſt degree, and we can only exclaim, "Thy judgments, O Lord, are a great deep! and thy ways are paſt finding out!"

It would give me the greateſt pleaſure, if in concluding this diſcourſe I could ſay any thing, with reſpect to the propagation of chriſtianity, among the original natives of America, which could be conſtrued into a fulfilment of the prediction of Daniel, concerning the progreſs of knowledge.

Every European nation, which poſſeſſes any conſiderable ſhare of the continent, has made this deſireable work a part of their profeſſed deſign; in planting and ſettling the country;

country; and it muſt be acknowledged that ſome very zealous and well meant endeavours have been made, by men who had neither wealth nor power in their view; but the ſucceſs has not been anſwerable to the goodneſs of the deſign, nor to the wiſhes of thoſe who have engaged in it. If we ſurvey the whole continent, from the firſt diſcovery of America, to the preſent time, the number of converts to chriſtianity, among the Indians, bears but a ſmall proportion to thoſe, who have been deſtroyed either by war, by ſlavery or by ſpirituous liquors. And, with reſpect to many of thoſe who have been called converts, it may juſtly be inquired, whether any thing more can be ſaid in favour of their converſion, than that they have exchanged their original ſuperſtitions, for others, more glittering and refined.

If the truths of our holy religion are to be propagated among the ſavages, it will become us to conſider, whether we had not better firſt agree among ourſelves, what theſe truths are. For whilſt they ſee diverſities of opinion among us, and that ſome of the more zealous advocates of particular tenets, are endeavouring to inſtil the peculiarities of their reſpec-

tive

tive ſects among them, and to prejudice them againſt others; the native ſagacity with which theſe people are endowed will lead them to avoid confounding themſelves with our diſtinctions, and to retain the religion of their anceſtors, till they can find one, more free from perplexity, than chriſtianity appears by the diverſity of our opinions concerning it.

It is alſo worthy of conſideration, whether the vicious lives and conduct of our own people, and eſpecially thoſe on the frontiers, with whom the Indians are moſt acquainted, be not a great obſtruction to the ſpreading of divine knowledge among them. It is very natural to eſtimate the goodneſs of any religion, by the influence which it appears to have on thoſe who profeſs it; and, if they are to regard the conduct of the people by whom they have been cheated, robbed, and murdered, as a ſpecimen of the influence of chriſtianity on the human mind, it would be a greater wonder that they ſhould embrace it than reject it.

If the chriſtian religion is to be propagated, without the aſſiſtance of miracles, among the ſavages of this continent, it muſt be in ſome ſuch manner as the Moravians have attempted.

ed. These people seem to have an art of attaching savage nations to their faith and manners, and of forming them into civilized and laborious society, beyond any other denomination of christians; and, for the honour of the common cause, I cannot but wish them all that support and encouragement which their zealous and benevolent efforts deserve.

It is much to be wished, that the spirit of bigotry and the *shibboleth* of party were totally abolished; that the christian religion may appear in its native simplicity and purity, and that the professors of it would distinguish themselves by that love, that meekness and gentleness which marked the character of its author and his primitive followers. By these marks all men will know us to be his disciples; our light will so shine before men, that they will see our good works, and glorify our father who is in heaven.

Notwithstanding any present unfavourable appearances, yet we have the greatest reason to expect that the time will come when knowledge will universally prevail; when speculative truth will be reduced to practice, and men will be led to a devout acknowledgement of the only true God, and of Jesus Christ whom

whom he hath ſent, evidenced by a careful obedience to the laws of virtue and righteouſneſs. Then will "the earth be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the ſea." Then will be fulfilled thoſe ſublime predictions of the inſpired Iſaiah. "I will bring thy ſeed from the eaſt and gather them from the weſt; I will ſay to the north, give up; and to the ſouth, keep not back, bring my ſons from far and my daughters from the ends of the earth. Thy gates ſhall be open continually, they ſhall not be ſhut day nor night; becauſe the abundance of the ſea ſhall be converted to thee, the forces of the Gentiles ſhall come to thee. Violence ſhall no more be heard in thy land, waſting nor deſtruction within thy borders; but thy walls ſhall be ſalvation and thy gates praiſe. Thy ſun ſhall no more go down, neither ſhall thy moon withdraw itſelf; for the Lord ſhall be thy everlaſting light, and thy God ſhall be thy glory. Thy people alſo ſhall be all righteous; they ſhall inherit the land forever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hand that I may be glorified. I the Lord will haſten it in his time."

O D E

FOR THE 23d OF OCTOBER, 1792.

Sung after the Diſcourſe, by Mr. REA *and a ſelect Choir, accompanied by the Organ.*

I.

WHEN form'd by GOD's creating hand,
This beauteous fabric firſt appear'd;
Eternal Wiſdom gave command,
All Nature with attention heard.

II.

" Here, *Ocean*, roll thy ſwelling tide;
" Here ſpread thy vaſt Atlantic main;
" From European eyes to hide [reign."
" That Weſtern World, which bounds thy

III.

Whilſt *Ocean* kept his ſacred charge,
And fair COLUMBIA lay conceal'd;
Through Europe, *Diſcord* roam'd at large,
Till *War* had crimſon'd every field.

IV.

Black *Superſtition*'s diſmal night
Extinguiſh'd *Reaſon*'s golden ray;
And *Science*, driven from the light,
Beneath monaſtic rubbiſh lay.

V.

V.

The *Crown* and *Mitre*, close ally'd,
Trampled whole nations to the dust;
Whilst FREEDOM, wandering far and wide,
And pure RELIGION, quite were lost.

VI.

Then, guided by th' Almighty Hand,
COLUMBUS spread his daring sail;
Ocean receiv'd a new command,
And *Zephyrs* breath'd a gentle gale.

VII.

The Western World appear'd to view,
Her friendly arms extended wide;
Then FREEDOM o'er th' Atlantic flew,
With pure RELIGION by her side.

VII.

Tyrants with mortal hate pursu'd;
In vain their forces they employ;
In vain the Serpent pours his flood,*
Those heaven-born Exiles to destroy.

IX.

"No weapon form'd against my flock
"Shall prosper," saith th' Almighty Lord;
"Their proudest threatenings thou shalt mock,
"For I will be thy shield and sword.

* Rev. xii, 15.

X.

" Sweet peace and heav'nly truth ſhall ſhine
" On fair COLUMBIA's happy ground;
" There FREEDOM and RELIGION join,
" And ſpread their influence all around."

CHORUS.

Hail! GREAT COLUMBIA! favour'd ſoil;
Thy fields with plenty crown thy toil;
Thy ſhore, the ſeat of growing wealth;
Thy clime the ſource of balmy health.

From thee proceeds the virtuous plan,
To vindicate the *Rights of Man.*
Thy fame ſhall ſpread from pole to pole,
Whilſt everlaſting ages roll.

DISSERTATION I.

ON THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF *AFRICA* BY THE ANCIENTS.

THE authenticity of hiſtorical traditions on this ſubject hath been queſtioned by ſeveral writers ancient and modern. I ſhall here place in one view, what evidence hath been produced on both ſides of the queſtion, as far as I have had opportunity to inquire; with ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me during the inquiry.

The firſt navigators of whom we have any account were the Phenicians, who were ſcattered along the coaſts of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea. As early as the days of Moſes, they had extended their navigation beyond the pillars of Hercules, on the weſtern coaſt of Africa, toward the ſouth; and as far northward as the iſland of Britain, whence they imported tin and lead,* which according to the univerſal teſtimony of the ancients, were not then found in any other country.

From

* See Numbers, Chap. xxxi. ver. 22.

From the accounts given in ancient hiſtory of the expeditions of Seſoſtris, King of Egypt, ſome have been led to conclude, that he made a diſcovery of *all* the coaſts of Africa.* However this might be, there is no doubt that he opened, or revived a commercial intercourſe with India and Ethiopia, by way of the Red Sea. It hath alſo been thought, that the voyages of the Phenicians and Hebrews to Ophir, in the time of Solomon, were nothing more nor leſs than circumnavigations of Africa.†

But, leaving theſe for the preſent in the region of conjecture; the earlieſt regular account which we have, of any voyage round the continent of Africa, is that performed by order of Necho, King of Egypt, and recorded by Herodotus; the moſt ancient hiſtorian, except the ſacred writers, whoſe works have come down to our time. His character as a hiſtorian is, "candid in his acknowledgment of what is uncertain, and abſolute when he ſpeaks of what he knows." The date of Necho's reign is fixed by Rollin 616 years before Chriſt. The date of Herodotus's hiſtory is placed

* Forſter's Hiſtory of Voyages and Diſcoveries, page 7. † Ibid.

placed by Dufresnoy in the third year of the 83d Olympiad answering to 446 years before Christ. So that he must have penned his narration of this voyage, in less than two centuries after it was performed. I shall give his account at large, in a literal translation, from the Geneva Edition of his work, in Greek and Latin, by Stephanus.* In describing the several great divisions of the earth, he speaks thus:

"I wonder at those who have divided and distinguished Libya,† Asia and Europe, between which there is not a little difference. If indeed Europe agrees with the others in length, yet in breadth it does not seem to me, worthy to be compared. For Libya shews itself to be *surrounded by the sea*, except where it joins to Asia. Necos, King of the Egyptians, being the first of those, whom we know, to demonstrate it. After he had desisted from digging a ditch from the Nile to the Arabic gulf [in which work above twenty thousand Egyptians perished; he betook himself to raising armies and building ships, partly in the

* Lib. iv. Cap. 42.

† Libya is the name by which the whole continent of Africa was called by the Greeks.

the north ſea* and partly in the Arabian gulf, at the Red Sea, of which they yet ſhow ſome remains.†] He ſent certain Phenicians in ſhips, commanding them, that having paſſed the pillars of Hercules, they ſhould penetrate the north ſea, and ſo return to Egypt. The Phenicians therefore looſing from the Red Sea, went away into the ſouthern ſea, and, directing their ſhips to land, *made a ſeed time*, that when autumn ſhould come, they might expect a harveſt, and might aſſiduouſly coaſt Libya. Then, having gathered the harveſt, they ſailed.‡ Thus, two years being conſumed; in the third year, coming round the pillars of Hercules, they returned to Egypt; reporting things which with me have no credit, but may perhaps with others, that *in ſailing round Libya they had the ſun on the right hand.*§ In this manner it was firſt known.

"In

* By the north ſea is meant the Mediterranean, which lies north of Egypt.

† Lib. ii. Cap. 48.

‡ "Into whatever part of Libya ſeamen came, they waited for harveſt, and when they had reaped, they looſed from the ſhore." (Note of Stephanus.)

§ i. e. They being in the ſouthern hemiſphere and ſailing to the weſtward, had the ſun to the right hand or to the northward.

"In the ſecond place, there have been Carthaginians, who have ſaid, that a certain Sataſpes, ſon of Teaſpis, a man of the Achamenides did not ſail round Libya, when he was ſent; but being deterred by the length of the navigation and the ſolitude of the country returned home, having not fulfilled the labour which his mother enjoined him. For he had violated a virgin daughter of Zopyrus, the ſon of Megabyſus; and for that cauſe, being by Xerxes condemned to be crucified, his mother, who was ſiſter to Darius, liberated him; becauſe he ſaid, he had rather impoſe on himſelf that puniſhment, than ſubmit to the King's command. Wherefore it became neceſſary for him to ſail round all Libya, till he ſhould come to the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes conſenting to this, Sataſpes went into Egypt, and, having there taken a ſhip and companions, ſailed to the pillars of Hercules. Having paſſed them, and having doubled the promontory of Libya called Syloes,* he kept a ſouthern courſe. Having traverſed much of the ſea in many months, and

* Now called Cape Bojador in the 26th degree of north latitude.

and finding much more time neceſſary, he turned about and came back to Egypt. Returning to Xerxes, he reported, that in viſiting the remoteſt coaſts, he had ſeen ſmall men, clothed in Phenician garments; who at the approach of his ſhips, fled to the mountains and left their villages; which he entered, and took nothing from them but cattle. He gave this reaſon for not having ſailed round Libya, that his ſhip could ſail no farther; but was ſtopped. Xerxes did not believe him, and becauſe he had not performed his engagement, ordered him to undergo his deſtined puniſhment."

To the authenticity of this circumnavigation of the African continent, the following objections have been made.

Firſt, it is ſaid that "the veſſels which the ancients employed, were ſo ſmall as not to afford ſtowage for proviſions, ſufficient to ſubſiſt a crew during a long voyage."

Secondly, "their conſtruction was ſuch that they could ſeldom venture to depart far from land, and their mode of ſteering along the coaſt was ſo circuitous and ſlow, that we may pronounce a voyage from the Mediterranean to India, by the Cape of Good Hope,

to

to have been an undertaking beyond their power to accompliſh, in ſuch a manner as to render it in any degree ſubſervient to commerce. To this deciſion, the account preſerved by Herodotus of a voyage performed by ſome Phenician ſhips employed by the King of Egypt, can hardly be conſidered as repugnant."*

I have choſen to conſider both theſe objections together, becauſe that each one helps to deſtroy the other. For if the veſſels were ſo ſmall, as not to contain proviſions for a long voyage, this was one reaſon for the navigators to keep their courſe near the land; that they might find water fruits, game and cattle on the ſhore, as well as fiſh on the ſhoals and rocks near the coaſt, for their ſubſiſtence. And if it was their deſign to keep near the land, for the ſake of diſcovery, ſmall veſſels were beſt adapted

* Robertſon's India, p. 175, American edition. The objections taken from this learned author were not made directly againſt the voyage mentioned by Herodotus; but rather againſt the poſſibility of a paſſage to India by way of the Atlantic Ocean, and round the African continent. However, as he brings this voyage into view in the ſame argument, and ſpeaks of it dubiouſly, it is conceived that his ſentiments are not miſrepreſented in the above quotations.

adapted to the purpoſe; becauſe they could paſs over ſhoals and through ſmall openings, between iſlands and rocks, which are generally ſituate near the coaſts of great continents. Beſides, if the veſſels were ſmall they could carry but ſmall crews, who would not require very large quantities of proviſion.

But Herodotus has helped us to ſolve the difficulty reſpecting proviſions, in a manner perfectly agreeable to the practice of antiquity, though unknown to modern navigators. They went on ſhore and ſowed corn, and when it was ripe gathered the harveſt. This enables us to account for two circumſtances attending the voyage of Necho; the length of time employed, and the ſupply of proviſion, at leaſt of bread, conſumed in it.

Nor was this ſowing and reaping any loſs of time; for the monſoons in the Indian ocean would not permit them to proceed any faſter. A ſhip ſailing from the Red Sea with the N. E. monſoon, in the ſummer or autumn, would meet with the S. W. monſoon, in the beginning of December, which muſt have detained her in ſome of the harbours, on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, till the next April. During this time in that warm climate, corn might

might be ſown and reaped; and any other articles, either of proviſion or merchandiſe, might be taken on board. Then the N. E. monſoon would carry her to the ſouthern parts of Africa, into the region of variable winds. This regular courſe and changing of the monſoons was familiarly known to the navigators of Solomon's ſhips, and was the cauſe of their ſpending three years, in the voyage to and from Ophir. "In going and returning, they changed the monſoon ſix times, which made thirty ſix months. They needed no longer time to complete the voyage, and they could not perform it in leſs."†

It is not pleaded, that the voyage of Necho was undertaken for the ſake of commerce; or if the authenticity of it were eſtabliſhed, that it would prove the practicability of a voyage from the Mediterranean to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, by the veſſels then in uſe, and the nautical ſkill then acquired. The voyage of which Herodotus ſpeaks might have been a voyage of diſcovery; ſuch an one as was perfectly agreeable to the genius of the people by whom it was performed, and of the prince, by whoſe order and at whoſe expenſe

† Bruce's Travels—B. II. chap. iv.

expenſe it was undertaken. "The progreſs of the Phenicians and Carthaginians, in their knowledge of the globe, was not owing entirely to the deſire of extending their trade from one country to another. Commerce was followed by its uſual effects, among both thoſe people. It awakened curioſity, enlarged the ideas and deſires of men, and incited them to bold enterpriſes. Voyages were undertaken, the ſole object of which was to *diſcover new countries and to explore unknown ſeas.*"* The knowledge acquired in theſe voyages of diſcovery might afterward be ſubſervient to commerce; and though the Phenicians might not think it convenient, to circumnavigate Africa, more than once, yet that they carried on a commercial intercourſe with different parts of that country, and particularly with places ſituate on the eaſtern coaſt, in the Indian ocean, we have evidence from the ſacred writings. In the reign of Solomon "the king's ſhips with the ſervants of Hiram and the navy of Tharſhiſh every three years brought ivory,† apes and peacocks, beſides ſilver and the gold of *Ophir*," which is with great reaſon ſuppoſed to

* Robertſon's America—Vol. I. p. 11, 4th edit.

† 2 Chron. viii. 18. ix. 21.

to be the country now called *Sofala* on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, in the ſouthern hemiſphere; as the learned Bruce, in his late book of travels, has ſatisfactorily proved.

The prophet Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Necho, King of Egypt, in the account which he gives of the merchandiſe of Tyre, enumerates ſeveral commodities, which it is well known belong to Africa, "horns of ivory and ebony, and the perſons of men."* We may form ſome idea of the ſtrength and materials of the ſhips of the Tyrians, and of their ſkill in navigation, from the following paſſages in his apoſtrophe to Tyrus. "They have made all thy ſhip-boards of fir trees of Senir; they have taken cedars of Lebanon to make maſts for thee; of the oaks of Baſhan have they made thine oars. Thy wiſe men, O Tyrus, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal, the wiſe men thereof were thy calkers. The ſhips of Tharſhiſh did ſing of thee; thou waſt repleniſhed and made very glorious in the midſt of the ſeas; thy rowers have brought thee into great waters." Though we have no particular deſcription of the ſize or model of their ſhips; yet they certainly had maſts and ſails

* Ezekiel, chap. xxvii. ver. 13, 15.

ſails and oars; their pilots and calkers were wiſe men, and they were not afraid to ſail in great waters, by which is probably meant the ocean, in diſtinction from the Mediterranean.

Of the form and ſtructure of the Grecian veſſels we have a more particular knowledge. "They were of inconſiderable burden, and moſtly without decks. They had only one maſt, and were ſtrangers to the uſe of anchors."* But then it muſt be remembered, that "the Phenicians, who inſtructed the Greeks in other uſeful arts, did not communicate to them that extenſive knowledge of navigation, which they themſelves poſſeſſed."† We may hence conclude that the ſhips of the Phenicians were much ſuperior to the Grecian veſſels; that they were fitted with maſts; ſails and oars, and with expert pilots. We have then no evidence from the ſtructure of their veſſels or their mode of ſailing, to warrant a doubt of the ability of their ſhips or ſeamen, to perform a voyage round the continent of Africa in three years.

To an European theoriſt ſuch a voyage may ſeem leſs practicable than to an American.

* Robertſon's America—Vol. I. p. 15.

† Ibid. p 14.

can. The Europeans have uſually employed none but ſhips of great burden, in their trade to India and China; but ſince the Americans have viſited thoſe countries, ſloops of fifty or ſixty tons have ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope to China, and round Cape Horn to the northweſt coaſt of America, and acroſs the north Pacific Ocean. If any doubt can yet remain, it may be entirely removed by the recollection of a voyage performed in the year 1789, by Lieutenant Bligh of the Britiſh navy; who, being turned adrift by his mutinous crew, traverſed the ſouth Pacific Ocean, above twelve hundred leagues, in a boat of twenty three feet long, without a deck, in much ſtormy weather, with ſcanty proviſions; and having paſſed many dangerous rocks and ſhoals, among unknown iſlands, arrived in forty one days at a Dutch ſettlement in the Moluccas.* The objections then againſt the reality of Necho's voyage, from the ſize and ſtructure of the Phenician veſſels, and the want of proviſion are not ſo formidable on examination as at the firſt appearance.

A third

* See the printed narrative by Lieut. Bligh.

A third objection againſt the credibility of this early circumnavigation is, that "ſeveral writers of the greateſt eminence among the ancients, and moſt diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge of geography, regarded this account rather as an amuſing tale, than the hiſtory of a real tranſaction; and, either entertained doubts concerning the poſſibility of ſailing round Africa, or abſolutely denied it."* That the Roman geographers and hiſtorians did doubt and diſbelieve the ſtory is very evident; and the cauſes are not far to be ſought.

The firſt was the jealouſy of the Phenicians. "Whatever acquaintance with the remote regions of the earth the Phenicians or Carthaginians acquired, was concealed from the reſt of mankind with a mercantile jealouſy. Every thing relative to the courſe of navigation was a ſecret of ſtate as well as a myſtery of trade. Extraordinary facts are recorded concerning their ſolicitude to prevent other nations from penetrating into what they wiſhed ſhould remain undivulged."† One of theſe extraordinary facts is thus related by Strabo. The Romans being deſirous to diſcover

* Robertſon's India, p. 175.

† Robertſon's America, vol. I. p. 13.

cover the places, whence the Carthaginians fetched tin and amber, "ſent a veſſel, with orders to ſail in the wake of a Phenician veſſel. This being obſerved by the Carthaginian, he purpoſely ran his veſſel among rocks and ſand banks; ſo that it was loſt, together with that of the inquiſitive Roman. The patriotic commander of the former was indemnified for his loſs by his country."*

A ſecond reaſon was the pride of the Romans. If, as Pope tells us,

"With honeſt ſcorn the firſt fam'd Cato view'd
"Rome learning arts from Greece whom ſhe ſubdu'd;"

the ſame pride would make their wiſe men ſcorn to learn geography or navigation, theoretically, from thoſe who were beſt able to teach them. It is acknowledged that the Romans "did not imbibe that commercial ſpirit and ardor for diſcovery which diſtinguiſhed their rivals."† It muſt alſo be obſerved, that there was but little intercourſe between them; and that the Carthaginians were deficient in thoſe ſciences for which the Romans

* Forſter's Hiſtory of Voyages and Diſcoveries, chap. I.

† Robertſon's America, vol. I. p. 14.

Romans were famous. Among the Phenicians and Carthaginians, the ſtudy and knowledge of their youth were confined to writing, arithmetic and mercantile accounts; whilſt polite literature, hiſtory and philoſophy were in little repute; and by a law of Carthage, the ſtudy of the Greek language was prohibited; leſt any communication ſhould be carried on with their enemies.*

A third reaſon was the opinion which the wiſeſt men among the Romans had formed, and to which they obſtinately adhered, concerning the five zones, and the impoſſibility of paſſing from one hemiſphere to the other, becauſe of the torrid zone lying between. This doctrine of the zones is ſo fully repreſented by Dr. Robertſon† that I need only refer the reader to what he has written on the ſubject.

But notwithſtanding the doubts and the infidelity of the Roman Philoſophers, and the great deference paid to them by this learned and cautious inquirer; there is one circumſtance which has *almoſt* convinced him of the

* Rollin's Ancient Hiſtory, book II. part I. ſect. 7.

† Robertſon's America, vol. I, note 8.

the reality of Necho's voyage, as related by Herodotus. It is this, that the Phenicians, in ſailing round Africa, "had the ſun on their right hand;" which Herodotus, with his uſual modeſty and candor ſays, "with me has no credit, though it may with others." On this the Doctor judiciouſly remarks, "The ſcience of aſtronomy was in that early period ſo imperfect, that it was by experience only, that the Phenicians could come at the knowledge of this fact; they durſt not, without this, have ventured to aſſert what would have appeared to be an improbable fiction."* Indeed if they had not known it by experience, there is not the leaſt conceivable reaſon for their inventing ſuch a report; nor even for the entrance of ſuch an idea into their imagination. The modeſt doubt of Herodotus is another argument in favour of the truth and genuineneſs of it; for as he had no experience to guide him, and the idea was new, it was very proper for him to heſitate in admitting it, though he ſhowed his impartiality by inſerting it in his relation.

So much for the voyage performed by the Phenicians under the orders of Necho, which is

* Robertſon's India, note 54.

is the *firſt* proof produced by Herodotus of his poſition that "Libya is ſurrounded by the ſea, except where it joins Aſia."

His *ſecond* proof is not ſo concluſive, nor the deſign of his introducing it ſo obvious. It is the relation of a voyage undertaken by Sataſpes a Perſian, whoſe puniſhment was commuted from crucifixion to ſailing round Libya; which voyage he began, but returned by the ſame route, not having completed it. The reaſon which he gave for returning was, that "his ſhip was ſtopped and could ſail no farther," which his ſovereign did not believe, and therefore put him to death, to which he had before been condemned.

The only evidence which this ſtory can afford is, that the circumnavigation of the African continent was, at that time, thought practicable. Sataſpes thought ſo, or he would not have propoſed it to his ſovereign; and Xerxes thought ſo, or he would not have diſbelieved the ſtory of the ſhip being ſtopped; by which expreſſion was meant that the ſea was no farther navigable, by reaſon of land.

The exact date of this voyage is not aſcertained; but as Xerxes reigned twelve years,

and

and died in the year 473 before Chriſt, it could not have been much more than thirty years, preceding the time when Herodotus publiſhed his hiſtory.

The voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian, is thus briefly mentioned by Pliny. "In the flouriſhing ſtate of Carthage, Hanno having ſailed round from Gades [Cadiz] to the border of Arabia, committed to writing an account of his voyage; as did Himilco, who was at the ſame time ſent to diſcover the extreme parts of Europe."* The character of Pliny, as a hiſtorian is, that "he collected from all authors, good and bad, who had written before him; and that his work is a mixture of truth and error, which it is difficult to ſeparate." An inſtance in confirmation of this remark occurs in this very chapter; where he ſpeaks of ſome merchants, ſailing from India, and thrown by a tempeſt, on the coaſt of Germany. He alſo mentions a voyage, made by Eudoxus; from the Arabian gulf to Gades, and another of Coelius Antipater from Spain to Ethiopia.

Of theſe voyages, that of Hanno is beſt authenticated. He ſailed from Carthage with ſixty

* Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, lib. 2, cap. 67.

ſixty gallies, each carrying fifty oars, having on board thirty thouſand men and women, with proviſions and articles of traffic. The deſign of this equipment was to plant colonies along the weſtern ſhore of Africa, which the Carthaginians, from priority of diſcovery, and from its contiguity to their territory, conſidered as their own dominion. Hanno was abſent five years, on this colonizing expedition; but there is no *certainty* of his having proceeded any farther ſouthward, than the Bay of Benin, in the eighth degree of north latitude. A fragment of his journal, which at his return he depoſited in the temple of Saturn, at Carthage, is now extant; and though it has been treated as fabulous by ſeveral authors, ancient and modern, yet its authenticity has been vindicated by M. Bougainville, in the 26th volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres; where a French tranſlation of it is given from the Greek, into which language it was rendered from the original Punic.

Concerning the voyage of Eudoxus, the following account is given by Bruce.* He was ſent

* Travels, book II. chap. V. The voyage of Eudoxus was originally written by *Poſidonius*, but I have not met with that author.

ſent by Ptolemy Euergetes, as an ambaſſador to India, to remove the bad effects of the King's conduct in the beginning of his reign, who had extorted contributions from merchants of that and other trading countries. Eudoxus returned after the King's death, and was wrecked on the coaſt of Ethiopia; where he diſcovered the prow of a ſhip, which had ſuffered the ſame fate. It was the figure of a horſe, and the ſailors, who had been employed in European voyages, knew this to have been part of one of thoſe veſſels, which traded on the Atlantic ocean; of which trade Gades was the principal port. This circumſtance amounted to a proof, that there was a paſſage round Africa, from the Indian to the Atlantic ocean. The diſcovery was of no greater importance to any perſon, than to Eudoxus himſelf; for, ſome time afterward, falling under the diſpleaſure of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and being in danger of his life, he fled; and embarking on the Red Sea, ſailed round Africa and came to Gades.

This voyage of Eudoxus was treated as a fable by Strabo, the Roman geographer, who wrote about a century and a half after the time

time when it is said to have been performed. The true cause of the incredulity of him and of other Roman authors in respect to these voyages and discoveries, was the doctrine of the zones, to which they inflexibly adhered, and which effectually precluded all conviction.

These are all the evidences which I have had opportunity to examine respecting the question of the circumnavigation of Africa,* and upon the whole there appears to be this peculiarity attending the subject, that it was believed by those who lived nearest to the time when the voyage of Necho is said to have been made; and, that in proportion to the distance of time afterward, it was doubted, disbelieved and denied; till its credibility was established beyond all doubt by the Portugueſe adventurers in the fifteenth century.

* Dr. FORSTER, in his history of Voyages and Discoveries (chap. I) refers to three German authors, GESNER, SCHLOZER and MICHAELIS, who have written on this subject, and observes, that "the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phenicians and Egyptians is proved almost to a demonstration."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TO

DISSERTATION I.

The following Table *exhibits a Chronological Detail of Facts and Opinions, relative to the circumnavigation of* AFRICA.

Years before Christ.

616 NECHO began to reign in Egypt, and reigned 16 years. *Rollin.*

In his reign the Phœnicians sailed round Africa from the Red Sea to the pillars of Hercules, and returned to Egypt in three years. *Herodotus.*

588 Ezekiel prophesied against Tyre. *Old Testament.*

485 Xerxes began to reign in Persia, and reigned twelve years. *Rollin.*

In his reign Sataspes sailed to the western coast of Africa, and returned to Egypt. *Herodotus.*

446 Herodotus published his history of the Olympic games. *Dufresnoy.*

445 to 440 Voyage of Hanno, the Carthaginian to colonize the western coast of Africa, completed in five years. *Bochart.*

350 Ariſtotle eſtabliſhed the doctrine of the five zones, which had been before taught by Parmenides.
Dufreſnoy and *Robertſon.*

152 Polybius doubted whether Africa were a continent extending to the ſouth, or a peninſula ſurrounded by the ſea, excepting where it was known to be united with Aſia.
Hampton's Tranſlation.

116 Ptolemy Lathyrus, began to reign in Egypt, and reigned ten years.
Dufreſnoy.

In his reign, is placed, the voyage of Eudoxus from the Red Sea, round Africa to Cadiz. *Bruce.*

55 Cicero delivered the doctrine of the five zones, of which two only were habitable, the middle zone being ſcorched with the ſun.
Somnium Scipionis.

Years after Chriſt.

29 Strabo profeſſed to know nothing with certainty reſpecting the ſouthern parts of Africa, and treated the voyage of Eudoxus as a fable.
Strabo.

74 Pliny denied any communication between the northern and ſouthern temperate zones; but ſpake of the voyages of Hanno, Eudoxus and others. *Pliny.*

211 Ptolemy the philoſopher, ſuppoſed Africa not to be ſurrounded by the ſea; but to extend in its breadth eaſtwardly, and to be joined to India. *Ptolemy.*

The opinions of theſe philoſophers were implicitly believed for the ſucceeding twelve centuries.

1497 Vaſquez de Gama paſſed the ſouthern promontory of Africa, on his voyage to India. *Robertſon.*

DISSERTATION II.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PRETENSIONS OF MARTIN BEHAIM, TO A DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, PRIOR TO THAT OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

SO much has already been well written on this ſubject by Dr. ROBERTSON, that I ſhould not have thought of adding any thing to it; had not a Memoir appeared in the ſecond volume of the Tranſactions of the American Philoſophical Society* at Philadelphia, in which the pretenſions of Behaim are revived by M. OTTO; who has produced ſome authorities which he had obtained from Nuremberg, an imperial city of Germany, and which appear to him, "to eſtabliſh in the cleareſt manner a diſcovery of America anterior to that of Columbus."

It is conceded that Behaim was a man of learning and enterpriſe; that he was contemporary

* No. 35, p. 263.

temporary with Columbus and was his friend; that he purſued the ſame ſtudies and drew the ſame concluſions; that he was employed by King John II. in making diſcoveries; and, that he met with deſerved honour for the important ſervices which he rendered to the Crown of Portugal. But, there are ſuch difficulties attending the ſtory of his diſcovering America, as appear to me inſuperable. Theſe I ſhall ſtate; together with ſome remarks on the authorities produced by M. Otto.

The firſt of his authorities contains ſeveral aſſertions which are contradicted by other hiſtories;* (1) That Iſabella, daughter of John, King of Portugal, reigned after the death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, ſurnamed the Good. (2) That to this lady, when regent of the Dutchy of Burgundy and Flanders, Behaim paid a viſit in 1459, and (3) that having informed her of his deſigns, he procured a veſſel in which he made the diſcovery of the iſland of Fayal, in 1460.

It

* Memoirs of Philip de Comines. Mezeray's and Henault's hiſtory of France. Collier's Dictionary.

It is true that Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Flanders, ſurnamed the Good, married Iſabella the daughter of John I. King of Portugal; but Philip did not die till 1467, and was immediately ſucceeded by his ſon Charles, ſurnamed the Bold, then thirty-four years of age. There could therefore have been no interregnum, nor female regent after the death of Philip; and if there had been, the time of Behaim's viſit will not correſpond with it; that being placed in 1459, eight years before the death of Philip. Such a miſtake, in point of fact, and of chronology, is ſufficient to induce a ſuſpicion that the "archives of Nuremberg" are too deficient in accuracy to be depended on as authorities.

With reſpect to the diſcovery of Fayal, in 1460, M. Otto acknowledges that it is "contrary to the received opinion;" and well he might; for the firſt of the Azores, St. Maria was diſcovered in 1431; the ſecond, St. Michael in 1444; the third, Terceira in 1445; and before 1449, the iſlands, St. George, Gracioſa, Fayal and Pico, were known to the Portugueſe.

Portugueſe.* However true it may be that Behaim ſettled in the iſland of Fayal, and lived there twenty years; yet his claim to the diſcovery of it muſt have a better foundation than the "archives of Nuremberg," before it can be admitted.

The genuine account of the ſettlement of Fayal, and the intereſt which Behaim had in it, is thus related by Dr. Forſter, a German author of much learning and good credit.

"After the death of the infant Don Henry [which happened in 1463,] the iſland of Fayal was made a preſent of by [his ſiſter] Iſabella, Dutcheſs of Burgundy, to Jobſt von Hurter, a native of Nuremberg. Hurter went in 1466, with a colony of more than 2000 Flemings of both ſexes, to his property, the iſle of Fayal. The Dutcheſs had provided the Flemiſh emigrants with all neceſſaries for two years, and the colony ſoon increaſed. About the year 1486, Martin Behaim married a daughter of the Chevalier Jobſt von Hurter, and had a ſon by her named Martin.—Jobſt von Hurter, and Martin Behaim, both natives of

* Forſters hiſtory of voyages and diſcoveries, p. 256, 257, Dublin edition.

of Nuremberg, were Lords of Fayal and Pico."*

The date of the ſuppoſed diſcovery of America, by Behaim, is placed by M. Otto, in 1484, eight years before the celebrated voyage of Columbus. In the ſame year we are told† that Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva was driven by a ſtorm to the weſtward for twenty-nine days; and ſaw an iſland, of which at his return he gave information to Columbus; from both theſe ſuppoſed diſcoveries this concluſion is drawn, "That Columbus would never have thought of his expedition to America, had not Behaim gone there before him." Whether it be ſuppoſed that Behaim and Sanchez ſailed in the ſame ſhip, or that they made a diſcovery of two different parts of America, in the ſame year, it is not eaſy to underſtand from the authorities produced; but what deſtroys the credibility of this plauſible tale, is, that Columbus had formed his theory, and projected his voyage, at leaſt ten years before; as appears by his correſpondence

* Forſter's hiſtory of voyages, and diſcoveries, p. 257, 258, 259.

† Garcilaſſo de la Vega's Royal commentaries. Preface. Purchas. vol. V. p. 1454.

ence with Paul, a learned phyſician of Florence, which bears date in 1474.* It is uncertain at what time Columbus firſt made his application to the King of Portugal, to fit him out for a weſtern voyage; but it is certain that after a negociation with him on the ſubject, and after he had found out the ſecret and unſucceſsful attempt which had been made to anticipate a diſcovery; he quitted that kingdom in diſguſt, and went into Spain, in the latter end of the year 1484.† The authority of theſe facts is unqueſtioned; and from them it fully appears, that a prior diſcovery of America, by Behaim or Sanchez, made in 1484, could not have been the foundation of the enterpriſe of Columbus.

M. Otto ſpeaks of letters written by Behaim in 1486, in the German language, and preſerved in the "archives of Nuremberg" which ſupport this claim to a prior diſcovery. As theſe letters are not produced, no certain opinion can be formed concerning them; but from the date of the letters, and from the voyages which Behaim actually performed in the

* Life, chap. viii.

† Ibid. chap. xii.

the two preceding years, we may with great probability ſuppoſe, that they related to the diſcovery of CONGO, in Africa; to which Behaim has an uncontroverted claim.

I will now ſtate the facts relative to this event, partly from the authorities cited by M. Otto; and partly from others.

Dr. Robertſon places the diſcovery of Congo and Benin in 1483, and with him Dr. Forſter agrees. The authors of the modern univerſal hiſtory* ſpeak of two voyages to that coaſt, the firſt in 1484; the ſecond in 1485; both of which were made by Diego Cam,† who is ſaid to have been one of the moſt expert ſailors and of an enterpriſing genius. From the chronicle of Hartman Schedl, as quoted by M. Otto, we are informed, that Behaim ſailed with Cam, in theſe voyages, which are deſcribed in the following terms. "Theſe two, by the bounty of heaven, coaſting along the ſouthern ocean, and having croſſed the equator, got into the other hemiſphere;

* Vol. XVI. p. 133, 135.

† Diego is the Spaniſh name of James, in Latin Jacobus, and in Portugueſe, Jago. Cam is in Latin, Camus or Canus, and in Spaniſh, Cano; theſe different names are found in different authors.

iſphere; where, *facing to the eaſtward*, their ſhadows projected toward the ſouth, and right hand." No words could be more completely deſcriptive of a voyage from Portugal to Congo, as any perſon may be ſatisfied by inſpecting a map of Africa; but how could M. Otto imagine that the diſcovery of America was accompliſhed in ſuch a voyage as this? "Having finiſhed this cruize (continues Schedl) in the ſpace of 26 months, they returned to Portugal, with the loſs of many of their ſeamen, by the violence of the climate." This latter circumſtance alſo agrees very well with the climate of the African coaſt;* but Schedl ſays not a word of the diſcovery of America.

M. Otto goes on to tell us "that the moſt poſitive proof of the great ſervices rendered to the crown of Portugal by Behaim, is the recompenſe beſtowed on him by King John II; who in the moſt ſolemn manner, knighted him, in the preſence of all his court." Then follows a particular detail of the ceremony of inſtallation, as performed on the 18th of February, 1485, and M. Otto fairly owns that this was "a reward for the diſcovery of Congo."

* See Brooks's Gazetteer, *Benin*.

go." Now let us bring the detached parts of the ſtory together.

Behaim was knighted on the 18th of February, 1485, for the diſcovery of Congo, in which he had been employed 26 months preceding; having within that time made two voyages thither in company with Diego Cam. It will follow then that the whole of the preceding years, 1484 and 1483 were taken up in theſe two voyages. This agrees very well with the accounts of the diſcovery of Congo, in Robertſon and Forſter, and does not diſagree with the modern univerſal hiſtory, as far as the year 1484 is concerned; which unfortunately is the year aſſigned for Behaim's diſcovery of "that part of America called Braſil, and his ſailing even to the Straights of Magellan."

The only thing in M. Otto's memoir which bears any reſemblance to a ſolution of this difficulty is this. "We may ſuppoſe that Behaim, engaged in an expedition to Congo, was driven by the winds to Fernambouc, and from thence by the currents toward the coaſt of Guiana." But ſuppoſitions without proof will avail little; and ſuppoſitions againſt proof

proof will avail nothing. The two voyages to Congo are admitted. The courſe is deſcribed; and the time is determined; and both theſe are directly oppoſed to the ſuppoſition of his being driven by winds and currents to America. For if he had been driven out of his courſe and had ſpent "ſeveral years in examining the American iſlands, and diſcovering the ſtraight which bears the name of Magellan;"* and if one of thoſe years was the year 1484, then he could not have ſpent 26 months preceding February, 1485, in the diſcovery of Congo; but of this we have full and ſatisfactory evidence; the diſcovery of America therefore muſt be given up.

There is one thing further in this memoir which deſerves a particular remark, and that is the reaſon aſſigned by M. Otto, for which the King of Portugal declined the propoſal of Columbus to ſail to India by the weſt. "The refuſal of John II. is a proof of the knowledge which that politic prince had *already* procured, of the exiſtence of a new continent, which offered him only barren lands, inhabited

* Memoirs, p. 269.

inhabited by unconquerable ſavages."* This knowledge is ſuppoſed to have been derived from the diſcoveries made by Behaim. But, not to urge again the chronological difficulty with which this conjecture is embarraſſed, I will take notice of two circumſtances in the life of Columbus, which militate with this idea. The firſt is, that when Columbus had propoſed a weſtern voyage to King John, and he declined it, "The King by the advice of one Doctor Calzadilla, reſolved to ſend a caravel privately, to attempt that which Columbus had propoſed to him; becauſe in caſe thoſe countries were ſo diſcovered, he thought himſelf not obliged to beſtow any great reward. Having ſpeedily equipped a caravel, which was to carry ſupplies to the iſlands of Cabo Verde, he ſent it that way which the admiral propoſed to go. But thoſe whom he ſent wanted the knowledge, conſtancy and ſpirit of the admiral. After wandering many days upon the ſea, they turned back to the iſlands of Cabo Verde, laughing at the undertaking, and ſaying it was *impoſſible there ſhould be any land in thoſe ſeas.*"†

Afterward

* Memoirs, p. 276.

† Life of Columbus, chap. xi.

Afterward "the King being ſenſible how faulty they were whom he had ſent with the caravel, had a mind to reſtore the admiral to his favour, and deſired that he ſhould renew the diſcourſe of his enterprize; but not being ſo diligent to put this in execution as the admiral was in getting away, he loſt that good opportunity; the admiral, about the end of the year 1484, ſtole away privately out of Portugal for fear of being ſtopped by the King."* This account does not agree with the ſuppoſition of a prior diſcovery.

The other circumſtance is an interview which Columbus had with the people of Liſbon, and the King of Portugal, on his return from his firſt voyage. For it ſo happened that Columbus on his return was by ſtreſs of weather obliged to take ſhelter in the port of Liſbon; and as ſoon as it was known that he had come from the Indies, "the people thronged to ſee the natives whom he had brought and hear the news; ſo that the caravel would not contain them. Some of them praiſing God for ſo great a happineſs; others ſtorming *that they had loſt the diſcovery through their King's incredulity.*" When

* Life of Columbus, chap. xii.

When the King ſent for Columbus, "he was doubtful what to do; but to take off all ſuſpicion that he came *from his conqueſts*, he conſented." At the interview, "the King offered him all that he ſtood in need of for the ſervice of their Catholic Majeſties, though he thought, that foraſmuch *as he had been a captain in Portugal*, that conqueſt belonged to him. To which the admiral anſwered, that he knew of no ſuch agreement, and that he had ſtrictly obſerved his orders, which were *not to go to the mines of Portugal*, [the gold coaſt] nor to Guinea."* Had John II. heard of Behaim's voyage to a weſtern continent, would he not have claimed it by priority of diſcovery rather than by the commiſſion which Columbus had formerly borne in his ſervice? Had ſuch a prior diſcovery been made, could it have been concealed from the people of Liſbon? And would they have been angry that their King had loſt it by his incredulity? Theſe circumſtances appear to me to carry ſufficient evidence, that *no* diſcovery of America prior to that of Columbus had come to the knowledge of the King of Portugal. In

* Life, chap. xli.

In anſwer to the queſtion "Why are we ſearching the archives of an imperial city for the cauſes of an event, which took place in the weſtern extremity of Europe?" M. Otto gives us to underſtand, that "from the fourteenth to the ſixteenth centuries, the Germans were the beſt geographers, the beſt hiſtorians and the moſt enlightened politicians." Not to detract from the merit of the German literati of thoſe ages, I think we may give equal credit to a learned German author of the preſent age, Dr. John Reinhold Forſter; who appears to have a thorough underſtanding of the claims not only of his own countrymen, but of others. In his indefatigable reſearches into the diſcoveries which have been made by all nations, though he has given due credit to the adventures of Behaim in Congo and Fayal, yet he has not ſaid one word of his viſiting America; which he certainly would have done if in his opinion there had been any foundation for it.

He has indeed given us a long detail, with much reaſoning, on a diſcovery made in the 11th century by the Normans, of a country called *Winland*; which he ſuppoſes to be the iſland

iſland of Newfoundland; but neither he nor any other writer pretends that the knowledge of this diſcovery was ever communicated to Columbus. That great man therefore, is juſtly entitled to the honour of an original diſcovery of America.

APPENDIX

TO

DISSERTATION II.

No. I.

LETTERS from PAUL a Phyſician of *Florence*, to CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, concerning the Diſcovery of the *Indies*.

LETTER I.

To CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, PAUL *the Phyſician wiſheth health.*

I PERCEIVE your noble and earneſt deſire to ſail to thoſe parts where the ſpice is produced; and therefore in anſwer to a letter of yours, I ſend you another letter, which ſome days ſince I wrote to a friend of mine, and ſervant to the King of Portugal before the wars of Caſtile, in anſwer to another he wrote to me by his highneſs's order, upon this ſame account; and I ſend you another ſea-chart like that I ſent him, which will ſatisfy your demands. The copy of the letter is this.

To

To FERDINAND MARTINEZ, *canon of* Liſbon,
PAUL *the Phyſician wiſheth health.*

I AM very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your moſt ſerene and magnificent King; and though I have very often diſcourſed concerning the *ſhort* way there is from hence to the Indies where the ſpice is produced, by ſea, which I look upon to be ſhorter than that you take by the coaſt of Guinea; yet you now tell me that his highneſs would have me make out and demonſtrate it, ſo as it may be underſtood and put in practice. Therefore, though I could better ſhow it him with a globe in my hand, and make him ſenſible of the figure of the world; yet I have reſolved to render it more eaſy and intelligible, to ſhow this way upon a chart, ſuch as are uſed in navigation; and therefore I ſend one to his majeſty, made and drawn with my own hand; wherein is ſet down the utmoſt bounds of the weſt, from Ireland in the north, to the fartheſt part of Guinea, with all the iſlands that lie in the way. Oppoſite to which weſtern coaſt is deſcribed the beginning of the Indies, with the iſlands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole toward

toward the equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may ſail, before you come to thoſe places moſt fruitful in all ſorts of ſpice, jewels and precious ſtones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the ſpice grows *weſt*, that product being generally aſcribed to the eaſt; becauſe thoſe who ſhall ſail weſtward will always find thoſe places in the weſt; and they that travel by land eaſtward will ever find thoſe places in the eaſt. The ſtrait lines that lie lengthways in the chart, ſhew the diſtance there is from weſt to eaſt; the others croſs them, ſhew the diſtance from north to ſouth. I have alſo marked down in the ſaid chart, ſeveral places in India, where ſhips might put in, upon any ſtorm or contrary winds, or any other accident unforeſeen.

Moreover to give you full information of all thoſe places which you are very deſirous to know; you muſt underſtand, that none but traders live or reſide in all thoſe iſlands, and that there is as great a number of ſhips and ſeafaring people with merchandiſe, as in any other part of the world; particularly in a moſt noble port called *Zacton*, where there

are

are every year a hundred large ſhips of pepper loaded and unloaded, beſides many other ſhips that take in other ſpice.

This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince called the great *Kham*, which name ſignifies King of Kings, who for the moſt part reſides in the Province of *Cathay*. His predeceſſors were very deſirous to have commerce and be in amity with Chriſtians; and 200 years ſince, ſent ambaſſadors to the Pope; deſiring him to ſend them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reaſon of ſome obſtacles the ambaſſadors met with, they returned back, without coming to Rome.

Beſides, there came an ambaſſador to Pope Eugenius IV. who told him the great friendſhip there was between thoſe princes, their people and the Chriſtians. I diſcourſed with him a long while upon the ſeveral matters of the grandeur of their royal ſtructures, and of the greatneſs, length and breadth of their rivers. He told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded

along

along the banks of the rivers; and that there were 200 cities upon one river only, with marble bridges over it, of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deſerves as well as any other to be diſcovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but alſo gold, ſilver, all ſorts of precious ſtones, and ſpices in abundance, which are not brought into our parts. And it is certain, that many wiſe men, philoſophers, aſtrologers, and other perſons ſkilled in all arts, and very ingenious, govern that mighty province, and command their armies.

From Liſbon directly weſtward, there are in the chart 26 ſpaces, each of which contains 250 miles, to the moſt noble and vaſt city of *Quiſay*, which is 100 miles in compaſs, that is 35 leagues; in it there are ten marble bridges. the name ſignifies a heavenly city; of which, wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings and the revenues. This ſpace abovementioned is almoſt the third part of the globe. This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the King for the moſt part reſides.

From the iſland *Antilla*, which you call the ſeven cities, and *of which you have ſome knowledge*, to the moſt noble iſland of *Cipango* are ten ſpaces, which make 2500 miles, or 225 leagues; which iſland abounds in gold, pearls and precious ſtones; and you muſt underſtand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all theſe things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with ſafety.

Much more might be ſaid, but having told you what is moſt material, and you being wiſe and judicious, I am ſatisfied there is nothing of it, but what you underſtand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may ſerve to ſatisfy your curioſity, it being as much as the ſhortneſs of time and my buſineſs would permit me to ſay. So I remain moſt ready to ſatisfy and ſerve his highneſs to the utmoſt in all the commands he ſhall lay upon me.

Florence, June 25, 1474.

LETTER

LETTER II.

To CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, PAUL *the Phyſician wiſheth health.*

I RECEIVED your letters with the things you ſent me, which I take as a great favour, and commend your noble and ardent deſire of ſailing from eaſt to weſt, as it is marked out in the chart I ſent you, which would demonſtrate itſelf better in the form of a globe.

I am glad it is well underſtood, and that the voyage laid down is not only poſſible, but true, certain, honourable, very advantageous and moſt glorious among all Chriſtians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by experience and practice, as I have had in great meaſure, and by the ſolid and true information of worthy and wiſe men, who are come from thoſe parts to this court of Rome; and from merchants who have traded long in thoſe parts, and are perſons of good reputation. So that when the ſaid voyage is performed, it will be to powerful kingdoms, and to the moſt noble cities and provinces; rich and abounding in all things we ſtand in need of, particularly in all ſorts of ſpice in great quantities, and ſtore of jewels. This

This will moreover be grateful to thoſe kings and princes, who are very deſirous to converſe and trade with Chriſtians of theſe our countries; whether it be for ſome of them to become Chriſtians, or elſe to have communication with the wiſe and ingenious men of theſe parts, as well in point of religion, as in all ſciences, becauſe of the extraordinary account they have of the kingdoms and government of theſe parts. For which reaſons, and many more that might be alleged, I do not at all admire, that you who have a great heart, and all the Portugueſe nation which has ever had notable men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

A Chronological detail of Diſcoveries made in the fifteenth Century, connected with Events in the Life of COLUMBUS.

A.D. 1411. JOHN I, King of Portugal.

1412. Sends veſſels along the weſtern ſhore of Africa to diſcover unknown countries.

15. Henry, fourth ſon of King John I, conducts the Portugueſe diſcoveries, which are puſhed as far as Cape Bojador, lat. 26° N. *Robertſon.*

18. The iſland of Porto Santo diſcovered.

20. The iſland of Madeira diſcovered.

31. The iſlands of St. Mary, the firſt of the Azores diſcovered.

43. Cape Arguin on the African coaſt, lat. 20° N. diſcovered.

44. St. Michael, the ſecond of the Azores, diſcovered.

1445. A *third* iſland of the Azores diſcovered, which from that circumſtance is called Terce-ira. *Forſter.*

Papal Bull conferring the newly diſcovered countries on the Portugueſe.

46. Companies of private merchants in Portugal undertake diſcoveries, and puſh them as far as Cape de Verd, on the coaſt of Africa, lat. 14° N. *Robertſon.*

1447. Chriſtopher Columbus born at Genoa.

49. The iſlands of Cape de Verd diſcovered; and before this year four other iſlands of the Azores are known, viz. St. George, Graciosa, Fayal and Pico. *Forſter.*

61. Takes to ſea at the age of fourteen.

63. Prince Henry dies, and the paſſion for diſcovery languiſhes.

(Uncertain date.) Alphonſo V. King of Portugal grants an exclu-

ſive

sive right of discovery to Gomez, and gives the island of Fayal to his sister Isabella, Dutchess of Burgundy and Flanders. *Rob. Forster.*

1466. Isabella sends Jobst Von Hurter to Fayal with a colony of Flemings. *Forster.*

67. Philip *the good*, Duke of Burgundy & Flanders, and husband to Isabella, dies at Bruges, Æt. 73: Is succeeded by his son Charles *the bold*, Æt. 34. *Collier. Mezeray.*

71. The Portuguese discover Guinea, particularly the gold coast, and first cross the equator. *Forster.*

1467. COLUMBUS sails 100 leagues beyond Iceland, within the polar circle, as far as lat. 73° N. Follows the sea 23 years, in which time he visits all the discoveries made by the Portuguese in Africa and the islands; during this time he settles and marries at Lisbon.

74. Columbus corresponds with Paul, of Florence, on the probability of finding India in the west. *Life of Col. by Ferdinand Col.*

1483.

(*Uncertain*) Columbus propoſes his plan of a weſtern voyage to the republic of Genoa, without ſucceſs. *Herrera.* Then to John II, of Portugal; who, by the advice of Calzadilla, privately ſends a veſſel to make diſcoveries in the weſt, which comes back to Cape de Verd, without ſucceſs.

1481. John II, King of Portugal, revives the ſpirit of diſcovery, and builds a fort on the coaſt of Guinea, called *St. George de la Mina*, lat. 5° N. *Forſter.*

83. Sends Diego Cam and Martin Behaim, to make new diſcoveries on the coaſt of Africa.

84. They make two voyages in 26 months, and diſcover Congo and Benin.

85. Feb. 18. Behaim is knighted by King John II. He afterward marries the daughter of Hurter, and thus becomes a proprietor and Lord of the iſland of Fayal. *Schedl. Forſter.*

1484. In the latter end of this year Columbus leaves Liſbon, and goes into Spain, having previouſly ſent his brother Bartholomew to England. *Ferd. Col.*

88. Bartholomew having been taken and detained ſeveral years by pirates, gets to England, employs himſelf in making

1486. Cape of Good Hope discovered by Bartholomew Diaz. *Rob.*

92. Martin Behaim visits Nuremberg, his native city, where he makes a globe, on which are delineated coasts and islands, which, from their situation, are *supposed* to be some parts of America.

{ *Robertson's* America, vol. I. p. 322.

making maps and globes, and presents one to Henry VII. *Mod. Univ. Hist.*

1491. Columbus having made application to Ferdinand, King of Castile, and been repulsed, resolves to follow his brother to England, but is recalled by Queen Isabella. Ferdinand being still inflexible, Columbus disgusted resolves to go to France.

92. Is again recalled, and receives encouragement from Isabella.

May 12. Sets out from Granada, for Palos, whence,

Aug. 3, he sails with three vessels.

Aug. 12, arrives at the Canaries.

Septem. 6. Sails thence to the westward.

Oct. 12. Diſcovers Guanahana, one of the Bahama iſlands, diſtant 950 leagues from the Canaries.

1493. Pope Alexander VI. draws his line of demarkation between the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe and Spaniards, 100 leagues weſt of the Azores.

Hazard's State pap.

1493. Returns to Spain, and arrives at Palos March 15.

Sept. 25. Sails on his ſecond voyage to the Weſt-Indies.

94. His brother Bartholomew meets him in Hiſpaniola.

96. John Cabot, a Venetian, in the ſervice of Henry VII. of England, diſcovers part of America, in lat. 45° N. and coaſts it northward to 68°, and ſouthward to 38°.

Prince's Chron.

96. Columbus returns to Spain from his ſecond voyage.

97. Vaſquez de Gama doubles the Cape of Good Hope, and arrives at Melinda.

98. Makes his voyage to India, and thus completes the diſcovery of

98. Columbus ſails a third time, diſcovers the iſland of

that country by the East.

1500. Cabral, bound to India, diſcovers *by accident* the continent of America, in lat. 10° S. which is called Braſil. *Rob.*

06. Martin Behaim dies at Liſbon. *Otto.*

Trinidad, and then the continent.

1499. Ojeda, a private adventurer, and Amerigo Veſpucci, follow the track of Columbus, & claim the honour of diſcovering the continent, which from a publication made by Amerigo, is called AMERICA.

1500. Columbus is ſent priſoner to Spain, by Bovadilla.

02. Makes his fourth voyage to the weſt, and ſearches for a

03. paſſage through the continent to India, is wrecked on Jamaica.

04. Returns to Spain, finds his friend and patroneſs, Iſabella, dead.

06. Dies at Valladolid, is buried at Seville, in the Cathedral, Æt. 59.

Ferd. Col.

DISSERTATION III.

ON THE QUESTION, WHETHER THE HONEY BEE IS A NATIVE OF AMERICA.

MR. JEFFERSON, in his notes on Virginia, has ſaid, that "the honey bee is *not* a native of our continent. The Indians concur with us in the tradition that it was brought from Europe, but when, and by whom we know not. The bees have generally extended themſelves into the country, a little in advance of the white ſettlers. The Indians therefore call them the white man's fly; and conſider their approach as indicating the approach of the ſettlement of the whites." He allows that "in Braſil there is a ſpecies of honey bee, without a ſting, but that it is very different from the one we have, which perfectly reſembles that of Europe." The facts adduced by this reſpectable author are true; but they will not warrant his concluſion that "the honey bee, meaning the one reſembling that of Europe, is not a native of our continent."*

There

* Page 79, American Edition. 121. Engliſh.

There is one circumſtance in the hiſtory of Columbus, which proves that bees were known in the iſlands of the Weſt-Indies, at the time of his diſcovery. When on his firſt return to Europe he was in danger of periſhing at ſea, he wrote an account of his diſcovery on parchment, which he encloſed in *a cake of wax*, and put into a tight caſk, committing the whole to the ſea, in hope of its being driven on ſhore or taken up. This wax was procured in the iſland of Hiſpaniola* which he had viſited, and it was one of the firſt fruits of his diſcovery.

The indefatigable Purchas gives us an account of the revenues of the empire of Mexico, before the arrival of the Spaniards, as deſcribed in its annals; which were pictures drawn on cotton cloth. Among other articles he exhibits the figures of covered pots, with two handles, which are ſaid to be pots of "bees honie."† Of theſe pots, two hundred are depicted in one tribute-roll, and one hundred in ſeveral others.

This account is confirmed by a late hiſtory of Mexico, written by the Abbe Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz, who from a reſidence of thirty

* See his Life, chap. xxx.

† Purchas, vol. IV.

thirty-ſix years in Mexico, and a minute inquiry into the natural hiſtory and antiquities of his country muſt be ſuppoſed to be well informed, and competent to give a juſt account. He tells us, that a part of every uſeful production of nature or art was paid in tribute to the Kings of Mexico; and among other articles of revenue he reckons "600 cups of honey" paid annually by the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of the empire.* He alſo ſays, "that though they extracted a great quantity of wax from the honey comb; they either did not know how, or were not at the pains to make lights of it."

In his enumeration of the inſects of Mexico, he reckons ſix different kinds of bees which make honey,† four of which have no ſtings, and of the other two which have ſtings, one "agrees with the common bee of Europe, not only in ſize, ſhape and colour; but alſo in its diſpoſition and manners, and in the qualities of its honey and wax."

In the account given by Purchas, of the travels of Ferdinando de Soto, in Florida, it is obſerved, that when he came to Chiaha, which

* Book VII, p. 351, 4to edit.

† Book I, p. 68.

which by the deſcription was on one of the upper branches of the Mobille, [now in the ſtate of Georgia] he found among the proviſions of the natives "a pot full of honie of bees."* This was A. D. 1540, when there were no Europeans ſettled on the continent of America, but in Mexico and Peru.

From theſe authorities it is evident that honey bees were known in Mexico and the iſlands, before the arrival of the Europeans; and that they had extended as far northward as Florida, a country ſo denominated from the numberleſs flowers, which grow there in wild luxuriance and afford a plenty of food, for this uſeful tribe of inſects. The inference is, that bees were not imported by the Spaniards; for however fond they might be of honey as an article of food, or of wax to make tapers for common uſe, or for the illumination of their churches; yet as bees were known to be in the country, there could be no need of importing them. The report of honey and wax being found in the iſlands, in Mexico, and in Florida, had reached Europe and had been publiſhed there long before any emigrations were made to the northward; if therefore

* Purchas, vol. V. p. 1539.

therefore if theſe had been conſidered as articles of ſubſiſtence or of commerce; the ſanguine ſpirit of the *firſt* adventurers would have rather led them to think of *finding* them in America, than of tranſporting bees from Europe to make them.

As to the circumſtance of the bees "extending themſelves a little in advance of the white ſettlers," it cannot be conſidered as a concluſive argument in favour of their having been firſt brought from Europe. It is well known, that where land is cultivated, bees find a greater plenty of food than in the foreſt. The bloſſoms of fruit trees, of graſſes and grain, particularly clover and buck wheat, afford them a rich and plentiful repaſt; and they are ſeen in vaſt numbers in our fields and orchards at the ſeaſon of thoſe bloſſoms. They therefore delight in the neighbourhood of "the white ſettlers," and are able to increaſe in numbers, as well as to augment their quantity of ſtores, by availing themſelves of the labour of man. May it not be from this circumſtance that the Indians have given them the name of "the white man's fly;" and that they "conſider their approach (or frequent

appearance) as indicating the approach of the ſettlement of the whites ?"

The firſt European ſettlement in Virginia was made about ſeventy years after the expedition of Soto, in Florida, and the firſt ſettlement in New England was ten years poſterior to that in Virginia. The large intermediate country was uncultivated for a long time afterward. The ſouthern bees therefore could have no inducement, to extend themſelves very far to the northward, for many years after the ſettlements were begun ; and within that time bees were imported from Europe.

That honey and wax were not known to the Indians of New England is evident from this, that they had no words in their language for them. When Mr. ELIOT tranſlated the bible into the Indian language, wherever theſe terms occurred, he uſed the Engliſh words, though ſometimes with an Indian termination.

Joſſelyn, who viſited New England firſt in 1638, and afterward in 1663, and wrote an account of his voyages with ſome ſketches of natural hiſtory in 1673, ſpeaks of the honey bee in theſe words, "The honey bees are carried

carried over by the Engliſh, and thrive there exceedingly."*

There is a tradition in New England, that the perſon who firſt brought a hive of bees into the country was rewarded with a grant of land; but the perſon's name, or the place where the land lay, or by whom the grant was made, I have not been able to learn.

It appears then, that the honey bee *is* a native of America, and that its productions were found by the firſt European viſitors as far northward as Florida and Georgia. It is alſo true that bees were imported from Europe into New England, and probably into Virginia; but whether, if this importation had not taken place, the bees of the ſouthern parts would not have extended themſelves northerly, or whether thoſe which we now have are not a mixture of native and imported bees, cannot be determined. It is however certain that they have multiplied exceedingly, and that they are frequently found in New England, in a wild ſtate, in the trunks of hollow trees, as far northward as cultivation and ſettlements have extended, which is nearly to the forty-fifth degree of latitude.

I have

* Voyage to New England, p. 120.

I have made inquiry of ſeveral perſons from Canada ; but have not learned that bees were known during their reſidence in that country. It is however not improbable that as cultivation extends, the bees may find their way to the northward of the lakes and river of Canada, even though none ſhould be tranſported thither by the inhabitants.

DISSERTATION IV.

ON THE COLOUR OF THE NATIVE AMERICANS, AND THE RECENT POPULATION OF THIS CONTINENT.

IT has been queried, "if the blackneſs of the Africans and the Eaſt Indians within the torrid zone, be the effect of climate; why are not the original natives of America, within the ſame latitudes equally black?"*

That the blackneſs mentioned is the effect of climate is generally admitted by philoſophical writers. Their meaning is, that the exceſſive heat of the climate, in a long ſeries of time, produces this effect. The heat of a country depends not only on its proximity to the equator; but on its particular and relative ſituation. A plain is hotter than a mountain, a continent is hotter than an iſland, and one ſide of a continent is hotter than the other. Though almoſt all the countries and iſlands of Aſia and Africa, between the tropics, have black inhabitants; yet there is a diverſity in the

* American Muſeum, 1790—p. 78.

the ſhades of their ſable hue, as well as in the form of their hair. The criſped woolly headed inhabitants of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, are ſaid to be the blackeſt of mankind, becauſe that country, from its peculiar ſituation, receives and retains a greater degree of heat than any other part of the globe; the eaſterly winds which paſs over that continent being extremely heated in their paſſage. The ſame wind (which at ſea is called the trade wind) is cooled in paſſing over the Atlantic. The eaſtern parts of South America are much cooler than the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, in the ſame latitude; and the natives of Guiana and Braſil are of a brown colour. Between Braſil and Peru are ſituate thoſe lofty mountains, the Andes; which again arreſt and cool the eaſterly wind, before it reaches the weſtern coaſt of America; and, the inhabitants of Peru are of a lighter colour than thoſe of Braſil. Mexico is in the ſame latitude with Senegal and Gambia; the inhabitants of the two latter countries are black, whilſt thoſe of the former are of an olive complexion, which is ſuppoſed to have been the original colour of the human ſpecies.

This

This account is conformable to that given by the celebrated naturaliſt, Buffon ; but he has alſo formed an opinion, which, if it were admitted, might ſolve the queſtion in another way. He conjectures that America is " of a much more recent exiſtence" than the old continent ; that it muſt have remained buried under the waters of the ſea much longer ; and has but lately emerged from the waves. In illuſtration of this conjecture he aſks, " if this continent be really as ancient as the other, why did ſo few men exiſt on it ? Why were thoſe few ſavage and diſperſed ? Why did the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, (the only ones which had the ſmalleſt degree of ſociety) reckon only two or three hundred years from the time that they were firſt aſſembled together ?" He might have gone on with his queries thus—Why are not the inhabitants of the torrid zone in America, of as dark a complexion as thoſe of the Aſian iſlands, and the eaſtern ſide of the African continent ? For it is well known, that *length of time* as well as *heat of climate*, is neceſſary to produce any great and permanent change in the human colour.

This

This conjecture of the late emerſion of the American continent from the waters of the ocean, advanced by Buffon, De Paw, and other European theoriſts, appears to me attended with an inſuperable difficulty. For whilſt buried in the water it muſt either have been ſunk below, or the water muſt have been raiſed above the preſent level of the continent. On the former ſuppoſition, there muſt have been ſome mighty convulſion of nature, and of very long continuance; to raiſe ſo immenſe a bulk from the bottom of the ocean to its preſent elevation; and the water which covered it muſt have been ſo driven back on all ſides, as to have made great encroachments on the ſhores of the other continent and iſlands of the globe. Or, on the latter ſuppoſition, that the water was raiſed above the preſent level of America, it would have been impoſſible, for that element to preſerve its equilibrium, according to the laws of hydroſtatics, without at the ſame time overwhelming the ancient continent. This difficulty renders the conjecture inadmiſſible, without ſome hiſtorical proof of the exiſtence of theſe effects.

But,

But, though the antiquity of America be allowed equal to the reſt of the world, yet it is poſſible that its *population* may be more recent. It is very certain that the annals of Mexico and Peru extended back but a few centuries previous to the Spaniſh invaſion. If we are to believe them, Manco Capac, the founder of the Peruvian monarchy, was contemporary with Henry II. of England, in the twelfth century; and the Mexican empire was eſtabliſhed in the fourteenth. The moſt elaborate inveſtigation of the late hiſtorian Clavigero, carries the *firſt* population of Mexico by the Toltecas, no further back than the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian Æra. Beyond that, they had no tradition, excepting that their anceſtors came from the north weſt.

If any analogy can be drawn from the progreſs which the ancient Aſſyrians and Egyptians made from a rude to a civilized ſtate; that is, to the ſame degree of improvement which the Mexicans and Peruvians had attained; there could not have intervened more than four or five centuries, from their firſt arrival in America, to the appearance of Manco. This calculation will bring the time of

the population of America, five or ſix centuries within the Chriſtian Æra.

Since modern voyagers have diſcovered the Pacific Ocean to be full of iſlands, and thoſe iſlands full of people, many of whom are well ſkilled in navigation, the population of the weſtern parts of America, from the eaſtern ſhores and iſlands of Aſia is rendered more credible than ever; and if the Mexicans and Peruvians came originally from the north of China or Corea, they might probably bring ſome degree of refinement with them, beyond what thoſe had who found their way hither from the more northern deſarts of Tartary. If this could be aſcertained, it would greatly ſtrengthen the argument for the recent population of America, and help us to account for the difference between the inhabitants of thoſe celebrated empires, and the wild wanderers in the northern regions of this vaſt continent; which is very analagous to the difference between the people of China, and the roving Tartars in the northern foreſts of Aſia.

In ſuch an inquiry, where ſo little light can be derived from hiſtory or tradition, the mind

mind is apt to reſt, perhaps too much on circumſtantial proofs which ſeem to favour an hypotheſis. Let this be my apology, if any be neceſſary, for introducing the following quotation from the learned Dr. Forſter.

"From the year 1259 to 1294 of the Chriſtian Æra, reigned KUBLAI-KHAN, [Sovereign of Tartary, whoſe reſidence was in Kathay, the northern part of China, and whoſe capital was a part of the preſent city of Peking.] He ſent a fleet and army to Niphon, or Japan for the purpoſe of conquering that country. The ſhips compoſing his fleet were very much ſhattered by ſtorms, and it is probable that ſome of them were not able to get back to Japan or China. About this period there ſprung up in America almoſt at one and the ſame time, two great empires, Mexico and Peru, which had regular inſtitutes of religion; notions of rank and ſubordinations, were in ſome meaſure civilized; were connected with each other by various kinds of aſſociation; practiſed agriculture; and in the matrimonial ſtate did not allow polygamy. In Mexico, they had even a kind of hieroglyphic writing, together with many other marks of cultivation;

cultivation; notwithſtanding that both theſe empires are ſurrounded on all ſides by ſavage and rude nations, very inconſiderable in point of extent, and are beſides at a diſtance from each other. All this favours the ſuppoſition, that theſe two colonies came thither by ſea, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; perhaps they are ſome of the people who were loſt in the expedition to Japan, their ſhips having been driven by the ſtorm to America." *

* Forſter's Hiſtory of Voyages and Diſcoveries, chap. I. p. 43.

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Gentlemen of curioſity and intelligence in every part of the American continent, and iſlands, are reſpectfully ſolicited, to favour the Editor, with ſuch communications, as the nature of the work requires; which will be gratefully accepted and acknowledged by their moſt humble ſervant,

JEREMY BELKNAP.

Boſton, Nov. 10, 1792.

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